DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 119 425 EC 081 555

AUTHOR	Mech, Edmund V.
TITLE	Delinquency Prevention: A Program Review of Intervention Approaches.
INSTITUTION	Portland State Univ., Oreg. Regional Research Inst. for Human Services.
SPONS AGENCY	Social and Rehabilitation Service (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Jun 75
NOTE	120p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$6.01 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS	*Delinquency; Emotionally Disturbed; Exceptional Child Education; Exceptional Child Services; Intervention; *Models; *Prevention; *Program Descriptions; *Program Evaluation; Research Reviews (Publications)

ABSTRACT

The monograph classifies, describes, and critically analyzes the major examples of juvenile delinquency prevention that have been reported by research and demonstration projects. Prevention efforts are noted to proceed along three distinct levels: promoting healthy development for all youth, focusing on youth who appear to be on the road to delinquency, and reaching youth who are already juvenile offenders. Two sections include descriptions of small-scale (such as individual services, special education provisions, and work experience) and large-scale (area intervention in cities including Chicago, New York, and Washington, D.C.) intervention programs. Results from action-oriented and research-oriented delinquency projects are reported and the research methodology used in evaluation of programs is examined. Studies on the problems and evaluations of youth service bureaus are cited. Outlined are three models for prevention (including a model for developing a community resource system) and proposed policy directions (in such areas as deinstitutionalization and school responsiveness). Appended is a paper on a family-oriented natural systems prevention model. (SB)

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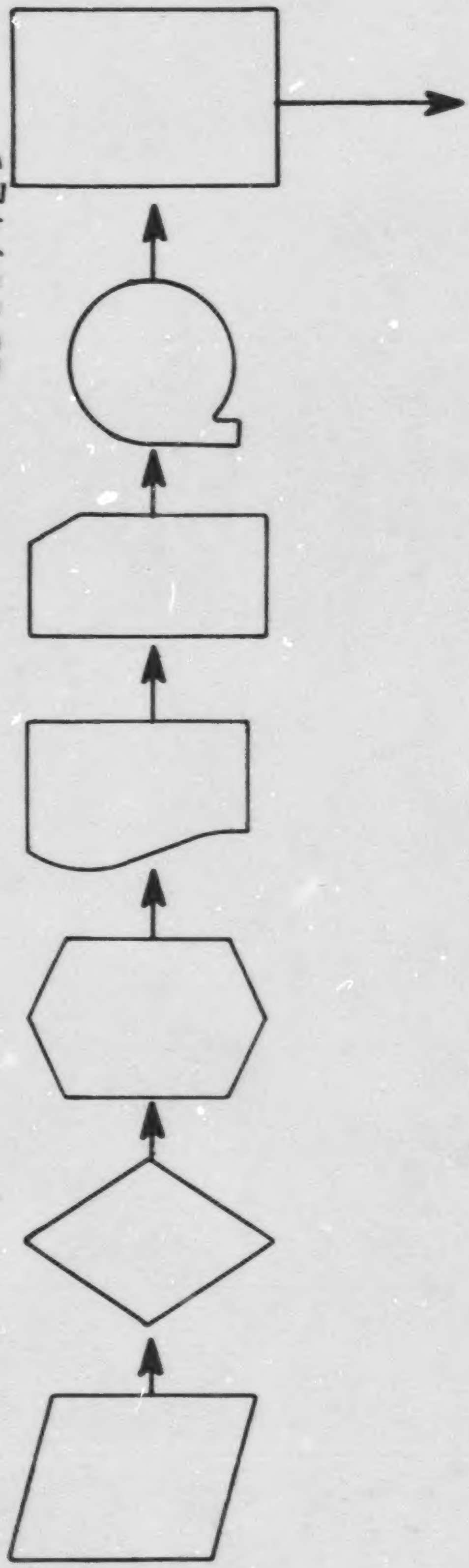

DELINQUENCY PREVENTION: A PROGRAM REVIEW OF INTERVENTION APPROACHES

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DELINQUENCY PREVENTION: A PROGRAM REVIEW OF INTERVENTION APPROACHES

by

Edmund V. Mech

Arizona State University

1975

PREFACE

This monograph by Professor Edmund V. Mech is the second of two that critically review the state of the art in research concerning prevention of juvenile delinquency. The first monograph, edited by William B. Pink and Mervin F. White, presents an assessment of "the known" in delinquency prevention in the form of principles for the guidance of decision makers.

In the second monograph, Dr. Mech classifies, describes, and critically analyzes the major examples of delinquency prevention that have been reported by research and demonstration projects. We are indebted to him for presenting a useful perspective in which to study the various strategies that have been pursued. He also advocates a shift in emphasis toward strengthening natural, family-related systems of delinquency prevention.

Dr. Mech received his Ph.D. in Psychology from Indiana University in 1952. Since then he has taught, written, and conducted extensive research on child welfare, youth development, and manpower issues. A professor at Arizona State University, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, Dr. Mech took leave of absence in 1972-73 to become the first director of the Region X, Regional Research Institute at Portland State University.

Supported originally by the Social and Rehabilitation Service (DHEW) to develop a program of research in Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention, the Regional Research Institute has since expanded its scope to address a wide range of applied research in human services.

June 1975

Arthur C. Emlen, Director
Regional Research Institute
For Human Services

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SECTION ONE

DELINQUENCY PREVENTION: THE BROAD CONSPECTUS

Perspective

Prevention denotes the ability to plan and implement measures prior to events that are likely to occur. Few would argue against the merits of advanced planning, particularly on an issue of such public concern as delinquency. Indeed, community sponsored fund raising campaigns yearly exhort citizens to contribute to the fight against delinquency. The programs of agencies, organizations, and community groups are vital to delinquency prevention. Many communities periodically declare all-out attacks on juvenile delinquency.

A range of solutions to the delinquency issue has been offered and many interventions tried. However, as yet none has been accepted as adequate to stemming the tide of delinquent behavior. While analysts have been prolific at diagnosing defects and weaknesses in the community response to delinquency, feasible and effective solutions have been slow in emerging. Youth development poses a continuing dilemma for communities, particularly in the area of delinquency prevention. In 1970, for example, approximately one million youth between the ages of ten to seventeen were referred to the nation's juvenile courts, and an additional three million youth experienced a police contact during that year. Projections for 1975 suggest that nearly 1.3 million youth (and their parents) will be referred to juvenile court. Based on a conservative cost estimate of $100 for each youth referred to the juvenile justice system in 1970 (Gemignani 1972), the annual price tag is in the vicinity of one hundred million dollars.

Dissatisfaction with the performance of public institutions charged with serving youth is increasing, with the juvenile court receiving the brunt of current criticism. The 1967 Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice contains the following indictment.

> . . . the great hopes originally held for the juvenile court have not been fulfilled. It has not succeeded in rehabilitating delinquent youth, in reducing or even stemming the tide of juvenile criminality, or in bringing justice and compassion to the child offender. (1967, p. 7)

Reform was the essential direction recommended in the Commission Report. Two salient guideposts were offered:

(1) increased emphasis on shifting the major rehabilitative effort into "community based dispositions that occur prior to the assumption of jurisdiction by the juvenile court," and

(2) a refocusing of the jurisdictional activity of the juvenile court to ". . . cases of manifest danger either to the juvenile or to the community," and building in court procedures sufficient to assure equity for any youth who reaches the point of judicial action.

One by-product of the Commission Report was a re-emphasis of the need to develop non-legal alternatives for juveniles. Accordingly, to redirect juvenile court emphasis the report deemed it necessary to expand alternatives to present judicial handling ". . . so that police and other members of the community have some assurance that manifest action will be taken for juveniles diverted to a non-judicial track." (p. 19) The Commission Report focused attention on developing non-judicial resources for juveniles who pose "no immediate threat to public safety" and discouraged the practice of direct referral to court of "minor" delinquents or of "non-criminal law-violating" juveniles. The Commission Report designated the handling of youth outside the juvenile justice system as a fundamental goal, recommending that non-judicial alternatives be "community efforts" and that "services be local."

Apparently the point has long since passed at which the inadequacies of the juvenile court could be rationalized and accepted as characteristic of any new program of reform. Clearly, the myriad of minor delinquencies now processed through the court could be handled by other than judicial agencies. Referring to the inadequacies of the juvenile court Tenny (1969, p. 117) observes, "We can no longer tolerate mechanisms of social control which do not return good coin on their investment." The trend seems to be toward reserving the court for considering only the more serious violations to life and property in the community.

Prevention Viewpoints

Preventing delinquency, despite the attractiveness of the idea, is an elusive concept and difficult to bring about. Prevention raises such common-sense questions as: What is to be prevented? Who is to be prevented from doing what? To what extent does prevention mean stopping a behavior before it occurs? Does prevention mean keeping a behavior from getting progressively worse and/or more frequent? Analysis of prevention levels conducted by Witmer and Tufts (1954) indicates that efforts characterized as delinquency prevention have proceeded in three distinct and sometimes quite different directions:

View One--All Youth

To some, prevention is synonymous with promoting a healthy development of all youth. Delinquency under this public health approach is viewed as a by-product of such institutional weaknesses as poor parent-child relations, inadequate social values, prejudice and discrimination against minority groups, adverse economic conditions, inadequacies in staff and equipment for schooling, medical care, and recreation. The thinking here is that delinquency prevention can be expected only if significant changes are made along all these dimensions. It holds that youth are not born delinquent, but the way they are handled by their social environments and institutions predisposes so-called delinquent behavior.

View Two--Potential Delinquents

A second approach focuses on youth who appear to be on the road to delinquency. It seeks to identify such youth and forestall their further more serious delinquent acts. Unlike view one, this approach is aimed at a limited clientele. It emphasizes direct service intervention with youth, rather than improved environmental and/or institutional conditions. The kinds of direct service to be provided depend on the program planners' views of why youth become delinquent and what measures will counteract or avert delinquent tendencies. Techniques that have been used include special clubs for youth based on the assumption that potential delinquents will either not "join in already valid group work activities or will be excluded from them." Other programs arrange for youth to have an adult "big brother" sponsor or a friend who will provide the guidance and support that many parents do not or cannot provide. The essential idea behind such interventions is that the help offered will prevent further delinquency.

View Three--Juvenile Offenders

The third view of prevention emphasizes reducing patterns of recidivism and of lessening the probability that youth will commit serious offenses. This approach centers on reaching juvenile offenders. Its aim is to cut short delinquent behavior and to help youth already in difficulty from committing more serious offenses. It does not emphasize preventing the onset of delinquency. Its programs deal primarily with youth who have already engaged in illegal behavior and been brought before the court. View three is the narrowest of the three views of delinquency prevention.

Despite the potential importance of developing the field of prevention, Harlow (1969) cautions that concepts appear to be only vaguely defined. She suggests that the popular public health model of prevention is misleading. The emphasis on primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of prevention though analogous with medical issues may not be appropriate to delinquency prevention, because no clear-cut causality can be established. Harlow, in evaluating the literature on prevention, suggests that in a society having a significant degree of "personal liberty in individual responsibility," certain levels of crime are inevitable. Harlow suggests that the first step in devising a prevention strategy is to find acceptable levels of unacceptable behavior (delinquency and/or crime). The second step is to determine locally the tolerance level for crime and the types of crime to be considered most serious, since these will vary for different parts of the country and in rural and urban areas. Thirdly, acts judged criminal or delinquent should be broken down into different types of offenses and offenders and dealt with in the most effective way, that is, by punitive, mechanical, or corrective measures. Harlow apparently believes that testing and developing strategies with specific offense reduction objectives should precede any attempts to develop comprehensive approaches. In short, Harlow concludes that the most productive areas for prevention are: (1) preventing recidivism, and (2) diverting offenders from the juvenile justice system.

Focus of Review

Delinquency prevention efforts have had little success. Witmer and Tufts (1954, p. 47) conclude that "rather little" is known about how to prevent delinquency. They observe that direct service steps such as counseling appear insufficient to reduce delinquency. Short (1966) supports the Witmer and Tufts assertion: "Past efforts to test the effectiveness of delinquency prevention programs unfortunately are not encouraging. By and large they fail to demonstrate the effectiveness of any program" (1966, p. 462) Short is of the opinion that despite the potential significance of delinquency prevention efforts little is known about the effectiveness of counseling as a prevention device and that too often studies fail to reveal what treatment had what effect on which youth. Berleman and Steinburn (1969) raise a long overdue question, namely the extent to which previous delinquency prevention experiments exposed youth to measurable amounts of environmental stimulation. Berleman and Steinburn (1969) observe, ". . . this most fundamental question cannot be satisfactorily answered." (p. 6) Accordingly, the ensuing analysis has three aims:

(1) to examine the types of current intervention models being used, that is, review the representative delinquency

prevention efforts to determine what might be learned from prevailing program and research approaches;

(2) to review emerging intervention models in order to identify new approaches to delinquency prevention programming and assess the empirical evidence offered in support of proposed new directions;

(3) to explore the possibility of establishing working standards for guiding future delinquency intervention efforts.

SECTION TWO

DELINQUENCY PROGRAMS: SMALL-SCALE INTERVENTIONS

Contemporary approaches to delinquency prevention characteristically direct their efforts toward individuals and small groups. The following seven intervention variations represent current small-scale delinquency prevention approaches.

1. Individual Services
2. Group Services
3. Special Educational Provisions
4. Social Learning
5. Community Outreach
6. Adult Models
7. Work Experience

The following are summary descriptions of each approach.

Individual Services

Treating the individual is a dominant concept in contemporary prevention theory. It assumes that deviancy is the result of intrapsychic malfunctioning on the part of the offender that requires therapy. A significant segment of the helping community endorses the intrapsychic approach. It is not surprising, therefore, that the "psychic deficiency" concept is already at work in the American justice system. The practice literature emphasizes the personality structure of delinquents. It focuses on the delinquent whose patterns of behavior indicate basic personality disturbances. Grossbard states: "It is my belief that all delinquents, regardless of the type of disturbance, have certain common psychological processes that operate vertically in their history and horizontally in their functioning." (1962, p. 3) Grossbard asserts that the delinquent "has inefficient ego mechanisms and as a result tends to act out conflicts rather than to handle them by rational means or by symptom-formation." Delinquents are characterized as having little ability to tolerate frustration, to control responses to stimuli, or to postpone gratification. The delinquent, moreover, according to Grossbard, acts out his id drives, using activity rather than language to cope with his impulses.

In a separate but related analysis of delinquency intervention efforts, Aarons states that "the treatment of delinquency is a difficult and unrewarding task." (1959, p. 29) Aarons further characterizes the delinquent as one "who does not voluntarily seek treatment for his emotional problems, but, on the contrary, seeks to perpetuate his condition and unlike a neurotic or a psychotic who is plagued by anxiety and distress, is unaware that he has emotional problems." He concludes that delinquency can be defined as anti-social and destructive behavior and suggests that the delinquent is deficient in "his ability to form object relationships, and that the kind of relationships he does make subserves his destructive impulses." Typical of Aaron's analysis are statements such as, "The delinquent has not advanced far enough beyond the pregenital states of development that his impulses have been diverted into constructive channels." (p. 29) This intervention response then has a therapeutic orientation, advocating psychotherapy, casework, counseling, and guidance with individuals.

Group Services

A frequent approach to delinquency programming is to provide group services to youth and parents. Characteristically, workers assess individuals within groups in an attempt to produce change in group members. Parent groups are formed to influence change in group members. It is assumed that defenses against looking at a problem tend to dissipate more quickly in a group than in the individual situation. Ideally the group creates an environment which enables parents and youth to share their problems with others who have similar concerns. The aim of many such groups is to help parents resolve personal problems and conflicts hypothesized to interfere with the fulfillment of parental roles. The assumption is that if parents can learn new or better ways of dealing with their youth, their family situations will improve as will the behaviors of their children.

Special Educational Provisions

Various special efforts conducted in school settings have been used to prevent delinquency. One such program consists of specially designed classes during the regular school day for delinquency-prone seventh-grade boys attending junior high schools located in high delinquency areas in Columbus, Ohio. Project classes cover many aspects of regular curriculum requirements, and in addition present special units dealing with the school, family, the world of work, and law enforcement. Moreover, several periods a week are devoted to remedial reading. Focus is placed on interpersonal relationships in which an attempt is made to present employers, teachers, policemen, parents, and other adults as ordinary human beings with likes and dislikes, and problems. The Columbus Project is based on the assumption that delinquency-prone youth have poorly formulated perspectives toward school or work, family, and the law, and that boys headed for trouble have negative images of their own ability.

Amos, Manella, and Southwell (1965) cite another variation of school efforts in delinquency prevention in which a home study program is described. The purpose of the program was to acquaint parents with various school projects and academic objectives and to enlist their participation. Parents were asked to provide a room in their own homes for children and tutors to use. The home study program coordinated tutors, students, and sessions and devised plans so that each youth would have tutorial help and a place to study. A large number of local residents offered to spend one evening a week with the youngsters. Each tutor presented something he felt was of interest and benefit to youth. A typical session "[was] presided over by three tutors and [consisted] of a period in which any youth who [brought] homework [had] an opportunity to go over it with one or more of the adult volunteers." Most of the tutors saw themselves as substitute parents for the evening.

Another tutorial-type program sponsored by the Metropolitan Youth Commission of St. Louis (1962) paid boys fifty cents an hour to attend and bring prepared homework to class. As the Commission explained, "The desperate need of the boys for this type of a program and the potential values of the program justified the practice of paying the boys for attending." The St. Louis program began as a special effort to work with youth who had dropped out of elementary and high school. It was an attempt to enable drop-outs from elementary school to acquire an eighth-grade certificate and to help high school drop-outs prepare to re-enter high school. Class sessions of two hours were held twice a week for fourteen weeks.

Social Learning (Behavior Modification)

The behavior modification approach to delinquency prevention differs from the "talking" therapies as an intervention method. For one thing, behavior modification does not rely on trained therapists or institutions that operate as quasi-psychiatric centers; nor does it involve psychological explanations for the behavior. Thorne, Tharp, and Wetzel (1967) state, "The application of behavior modification techniques is certainly one of the most exciting and refreshing of the new treatment innovations. The techniques follow from operant learning theory--a theory that is elegantly simple, easily taught, dramatically effective, and useful in an almost unlimited number of settings." (p. 21) Two general types of reinforcement are used to modify behavior. The first is positive reinforcement which contains such primary reinforcers as money and food and such secondary reinforcers as praise, attention, and privileges. The second type is aversive reinforcement, such stimuli as threats, physical punishment, confinement, withdrawal of rewards and privileges, and verbal sarcasm. The research work conducted on punishment by psychologists suggests that punishment is only a temporary depressant to behavior. Its effects are limited and tend to be short-term. Moreover, aversive reinforcers tend to have generalized effects on an individual rather than the specific effect intended, that is, to eliminate an objectionable behavior. Thorne, Tharp, and Wetzel (1967) suggest that many pre-delinquent youth are exposed to overdoses of aversive stimuli in their lives, and that the steps usually taken by public agencies to correct such behavior are likely also to be aversive, that is, youth are expelled from school, placed in detention, or placed on probation. One aim of the behavior modification approach is to improve the use of positive reinforcers in the lives of youth.

Behavior modification is based in part on reinforcement theory. It assumes that children behave as they do because their environment reinforces such behavior. It asserts that a child will engage in behaviors that are effective in stimulating parents, peers, teachers, and others members of his environment. Accordingly, if members of the community consider a youth to be deviant because of his behavior, the problem should have an identifiable solution. Behavior modification argues that if social reinforcement is a reliable consequence of the child's deviant behavior, a reversal in the social contingencies should be therapeutic. If members of the youth's immediate community could be trained to ignore deviant behavior and respond instead to his more normal behavior, normal behaviors would become characteristic features and deviant behaviors would cease to occur.

An example of the modification of pre-delinquent behavior in a natural home setting is provided by Reid and Patterson. (1973) The procedure described contains the following characteristics.

1. An intake evaluation during which psychometric tests were administered and a referral complaint was thoroughly discussed with the parents and the referred boy.
2. A period of approximately two weeks of baseline observations in the home by experienced observers, the purpose of which was to establish the base rates of aggressive and pro-social child behaviors against which the effective treatment would be compared.
3. A period during which the parents were given a copy of a programmed textbook describing operant child-management procedures on which they had to pass a test for comprehension before further treatment.

4. One or more sessions with the parent in a laboratory devoted to teaching the parents to define, track, and record targeted deviant and pro-social behaviors carefully.
5. A series of sessions during which the parents were taught (at the office) to design and carry out modification programs in their home.
6. Treatment termination which occurred when the parents were designing and executing their programs independently.

Community Outreach

Outreach means going out into the community to contact youth and families unable or unwilling to come to a social agency. The community outreach view is based on the conviction that workers through individual initiation will find a way of reaching youth and families in the community. This approach is deemed necessary to counteract the resistance of many families to social agencies. Community outreach has a number of variations. In one, the floating or detached worker establishes contact with unorganized individuals located by the worker's going into a neighborhood and making contact, whether in a pool hall, bowling alley, street corner, or home. By direct observation or interview the worker determines the person's value system and problem. On the basis of this contact, he develops an approach. He then attempts to establish a relationship and to integrate the individual or group into some activity. In another variation, the worker contacts existing informal groups to generate new groups that will use the services of community agencies. Examples would be programs set up by mothers for pre-school-age children, father and son clubs, neighborhood planning projects, family nights, annual neighborhood sessions to welcome newcomers, and study and discussion groups on matters of community interest. Another variation of community outreach is the attempt to recruit, train, and provide leadership and participation in such local organizations as churches, schools, neighborhood councils, who in turn would assume responsibility for sponsoring such youth and adult recreation and social activities as teenage canteens, family night, square dancing, club groups, craft groups, and discussion groups. Still another variation is the detached worker assigned to work in a specific neighborhood or area. An excerpt from the Roxbury Project provides an example:

> One of the staff members stood across the street from a dead-end alley and stared at a group of boys and girls until some of them approached her to challenge her with being either a policewoman or a social worker. The club of girls which developed from this contact included girls who were habitual truants and also responsible for some vandalism and shoplifting.

In other instances, with the names of group members in hand, the detached worker finds his own way of getting acquainted in the neighborhood and locating the group he wants to work with.

Adult Models

The notion of using adults as models or examples for youth has much support. The Denver Boys, Incorporated program (Amos, Manella, and Southwell, 1965) reports that to the "disadvantaged boys who find their way to Denver Boys, an adult male companion is a coveted relationship." The program offers each participant the chance to develop this relationship by introducing him to a member of the Rotary Club. Volunteers for this big brother type program are accepted by the Work Committee, and boys are matched with a companion to suit their needs. The relationship includes being friends, but may also include guidance, joint participation in social, athletic, recreational, and work activities. The sponsor-boy relationship has no set time limit but continues as long as seems necessary. One sponsor reportedly stayed with a boy for nine years. The boy graduated from high school and planned to enter college. The sponsor helped him with employment, and the young man saved $1,000 to help defray the expenses of college. (Amos, Manella, and Southwell, 1965)

Examples of the Big Brothers of America approach are as follows: The project entitled the Glenville High School Counseling Project in Cleveland was developed on the basis that Glenville High, a school serving 3,000 black pupils, had a staff of only four counselors, a ratio of one counselor to approximately 750 pupils. The school also had a drop-out rate of approximately 27 percent. Twenty volunteer Big Brothers in Cleveland were assigned to Glenville High to serve individually with tenth-graders. Pupils were selected if they had a good academic potential but an environment conducive to their becoming drop-outs. The purpose was to see whether tenth-graders through individual counseling could be maintained in school and graduated. Weekly contact was made with each pupil during the project, and over the summer jobs were developed through the efforts of individual Big Brothers and of a work opportunity project sponsored by the Jewish Big Brothers Association of Cleveland. Overall, twenty-one deprived youngsters were served.

In Philadelphia the Big Brothers Association has sponsored a program in which high school volunteers work with youngsters in the elementary school. Referred to as the "Take a Brother" program, a volunteer is assigned to a youngster who lives within a ten block radius of his home, so his relationship can be "effective and spontaneous." Referrals to the "Take a Brother" program come from two sources: elementary schools and law enforcement agencies. The boy and his family are interviewed to determine whether this service can be beneficial and to involve them positively in the program. Workers may be assigned to boys whether or not their father is present in the home. The fear that the volunteer will pose a threat to the father is minimized by the volunteer's relative youth. His youth is reported to be a major advantage of the program.

Another program direction sponsored by the Big Brothers of the National Capitol area is entitled "Friendly Homes." It enables fatherless boys and girls to visit in two-parent homes for days, weekends, or weeks. Volunteers for "Friendly Homes" give their young guests an opportunity to see adults as husband, wife, parent, and citizen and to identify with them as total people. "Friendly Homes" is not viewed as a substitute for the youth's own home but as an enrichment of "living at home" and is meant to expand the child's concept of home and family.

In Houston the Big Brothers program is involved in the "Clear Lake Project" in which youth in the county who have committed such chronic or status offenses as truancy or petty theft are placed in a facility located at Clear Lake. In the majority of cases the boys, ages ten through seventeen, come from sub-standard homes with no father or no effective male figure in the family. This program is concerned with youth about to be released or currently released from the Clear Lake County School. The aim of the Big Brothers in the program is to prevent the boy from committing further law violations, and to "direct and inspire him to achieve in a positive fashion (i.e., regular school attendance, good study habits, cultivation of good manners, etc.)." (p. 97) The Houston Big Brothers office receives a list of boys to be released and then obtains case histories from the probation department. When the boys in the program return to local public schools, a Big Brother is assigned to each. In addition to the one-man-one-boy concept, there are weekly group activities. Big and Little Brothers engage in athletic activities together on a weekly basis. Following this, the group meets at a local cafeteria and concludes with a planned program, after which the Big Brother returns the youth to his home. In addition, the group sponsors camping trips and other activities.

Work Experience

Work experience programs are characterized by the conviction that work is therapeutic and necessary for youth. They operate on the premise that productive work activities will deter delinquent tendencies. The Job Upgrading Project in North Richmond, California (Amos, Manella, and Southwell, 1965), for example, describes the program as follows:

> These boys had been failures at school, in their own homes, and in the community. Accordingly it is necessary to give them minor assignments and goals at which they can readily succeed. Among these is filling out application blanks, obtaining Social Security cards. And even with simple tasks like these some of the boys had to be accompanied to the Employment Office because they might panic at the window. . . .

The project description continues,

> Inevitably much time was spent going around to their homes, getting them out of bed in the morning; more time was spent listening to their personal problems and grievances, and encouraging them to use the resources of the . . . Employment Service.

The North Richmond, California program emphasizes getting a job, any job, and the necessity of planning and preparing for more stable and satisfying employment that promises opportunities for advancement.

Another program conducted in Philadelphia under the title Youth Conservation Corps, seeks to prevent juvenile delinquency and to help young people participate in the community. It helps prepare youth for the job market, relieves financial hardships among families in need, improves public lands and institutions, and offers participants a combination of academic and vocational education. The suggested time period for participation in the program was one school year of part-time work, plus a ten-week full-time summer period. During the school year, the plan was to have boys work four hours a day, five days a week. The summer program was set up as an eight-hour day program for ten weeks. Boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen were eligible for the program. Selection was made from all areas of Philadelphia but with priority given those from depressed areas.

> Where the social ills of delinquency, low income, poor housing, and poor health are prevalent, the program was not restricted to boys who had had trouble with the law, nor did it exclude these boys. During the school year the boys were dismissed from school each day at noon in order to permit them to carry their regular classes in the morning and work in the Corps in the afternoon for twenty hours a week.

Another program in Bloomington, Indiana entitled Boy Builders of Bloomington, offered sixteen to eighteen-year-old boys the chance to work and study under supervision. Participants were unemployed youth who had dropped out of school and were deemed potential delinquents. A further criterion was that they have a readiness for a work-study experience in the construction industry. An objective of the program was to inspire and impress young people with the importance of service to the community. Constructing low income homes for young married couples was chosen as the means. "Not only would the boys point with pride to their accomplishment in construction, but they would also work side by side with young couples who wanted to help with the construction." It was decided that

> a boy should spend at least two years in supervised work and study to really profit. The heart of the program was the vocational training given in the building trades. Each boy was required to participate in the construction of a house from the beginning of the foundation footings to the final landscaping of the site. During this process the boy worked along with other boys under the direction of skilled craftsmen and learned directly the general principles of carpentry, electrical work, masonry, plumbing, painting, and landscaping. For boys who proved not of sufficient aptitude for construction work, a number of related jobs were found.

SECTION THREE

DELINQUENCY PROGRAMS: LARGE-SCALE INTERVENTIONS

Large-scale interventions are interventions that derive from broad social analyses of conditions that require change. Large-scale interventions take three forms: (1) area improvement efforts, (2) coordination of services, and (3) recreational approaches. Since the area improvement efforts and coordination of services are especially pertinent to community problems, our summary will highlight efforts in these two areas.*

Area Intervention

Area interventions stem from the belief that social conditions increase the likelihood that youth will become delinquent. The intervention target is not the youth himself, nor is delinquency viewed as a manifestation of a psychological deficiency. Rather, the environment of a particular community is viewed as insufficient to counteract the alienation of its youth. Large-scale approaches to delinquency prevention assess the social structure and identify and act on conditions that require change. They emphasize involving area residents in their programs.

Examples of area large-scale delinquency prevention projects are the:

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*For purposes of the review, material on recreational approaches to delinquency have been omitted. Witmer and Tufts (1954, pp. 17-24) provide an excellent review of material on recreation as a method of delinquency prevention.

Chicago Area Project
Mobilization for Youth Project
Syracuse Crusade for Opportunity
United Planning Organization
Houston Action for Youth
Action for Appalachian Youth
HARYOU-ACT

The resultant summaries are based on the following sources: the Chicago Area Project (Kobrin, 1959; Sorrentino, 1959), and Grosser (1969), for selected projects funded by the former SRS Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, specifically Mobilization for Youth, Syracuse Crusade for Opportunity, United Planning Organization, Washington, D.C., Houston Action for Youth, and HARYOU-ACT. Briefly the goals, target areas, and methods used by selected area type projects are as follows:

Chicago Area Project

- Goals: To develop effective methods of inducing residents of the target area to commit themselves to preventing delinquency in the surrounding neighborhood.
- Target Area: Selected high delinquency neighborhoods in Chicago.
- Intervention Method(s):
  (1) Using target area residents to aid in developing community committees.
  (2) Providing structural autonomy for neighborhood based groups.

Mobilization for Youth - New York

- Goals: Social and institutional change. Directed toward improving services to clients in public bureaucracies. Involving local residents in social action. Increasing educational and work opportunities for youth.
- Target Area: Lower East Side, New York. Original target area consisted of 67 square blocks with a population of about 100,000.
- Intervention Method(s):
  - (1) Involving unaffiliated neighborhood persons in community activities.
  - (2) Getting existing informal organizations to aid in obtaining resources.
  - (3) Creating an urban youth service corps and a youth job center.

Syracuse Crusade for Opportunity

- Goals: The Crusade's major goal was to develop the community so that residents could become the chief force for changing the character of their neighborhoods. It emphasized a high degree of local autonomy. The project assumed that community involvement would diminish dependency, apathy, and isolation, and generally create a healthier environment for residents.
- Target Area: Target areas were areas having high concentrations of families with problems, that is, areas having a concentrated pathological environment. Delinquency, drop-out data, unemployment rates, poverty, dependency,

and physical blight were viewed as handicaps to making the transition from adolescence to responsible adulthood.

- Intervention Method(s): A community development task force of residents of the low income areas was to spearhead the crusade toward forming neighborhood boards. Plans were developed to create neighborhood boards in three areas whose one aim would be to involve residents in elections. The boards were to develop local services in organizations and to provide information and referral resources. Each board utilized a committee structure and had latitude to create special committees around legal, education, recreation, and housing issues and to pursue these problems in their respective areas.

United Planning Organization - Washington, D.C.

- Goals: UPO's purposes included developing self-organization and encouraging disadvantaged residents to participate in public decisions which influence their lives. Secondly, it sought to develop a network of improved services for solving individual problems, to free individuals to turn their attention to the welfare of the neighborhood as a whole. The program emphasized changes in institutional responsiveness to the problems of target area residents.
- Target Area: Included Washington, D.C. and six surrounding urban communities. The program emphasized the concerns of low income groups. It viewed employment and housing as two serious problems in the area.

- Intervention Method(s): Nine project centers referred to as neighborhood development centers were formed in a defined territory. Each project center was responsible to the neighborhood organization designated as a citizen's advisory committee. The citizen's advisory committee was to select project center directors and hire local staff. Neighborhood workers were to determine the concerns of residents. The priorities were jobs, housing, and schooling. Neighborhood workers organized block clubs and youth groups. They also engaged in demonstrations, sit-ins, picketing, and letter writing regarding welfare policies and the hiring practices of firms, particularly practices relating to persons having police records.

Houston Action for Youth (HAY) - Houston, Texas

- Goals: To organize neighborhood residents and democratically control self-help groups, on the assumption that such moves would control delinquent acts. Such an approach was seen also as influencing social services to serve deviant behavior better.
- Target Area: The target area was widely disbursed but densely populated compared with other sections of Houston. It consisted of several distinct neighborhoods divided by such barriers as super highways and industrial complexes.
- Intervention Method(s): A neighborhood development program was organized around the idea of the residents' self-expression. The program did not espouse a specific

issue or a need for a specific service. According to Grosser no group affiliated with a larger national organization was part of the HAY network. Each HAY group was assigned a staff worker. Decisions were made through three area councils to which one hundred separate neighborhood groups sent representatives. Area councils then sent representatives to an inter-neighborhood council. The inter-neighborhood council was considered the essential planning body for the target area. The intervention model was characterized by rationality and persistence. Well-documented petitions to city council meetings were its basis for obtaining action. The Houston model was based on the idea of cooperative relations between a neighborhood group and the city decision-makers.

HARYOU-ACT (Harlem Youth Unlimited - Associated Community Teams)

- Goals: To increase the chances that youth in a Harlem community will live useful lives and to develop Harlem into a community of excellence. The HARYOU project viewed delinquency as a symptom of pathology in a social environment and was based on the idea that planning for youth should seek to engage a significant segment of the community in change. HARYOU was based on the concept that anti-social behavior in youth is an attempt to gain recognition when acceptable goals are blocked, discrimination and segregation are barriers to legitimate behavior, the forces that contribute to anti-social behavior can be identified and corrected, and a deprived community can mobilize itself as a force to bring about needed change. By attracting young people from all walks of life, it was hoped that Harlem youth would be imbued with a sense of community and that the program would attract sufficient numbers of young people to the movement and thereby weaken deviant sub-cultures.

- Target Area: Approximately a quarter of a million people, the majority of them Negro, living in a three and one-half mile area that constitutes Central Harlem. Approximately fifty percent of the young people under eighteen years of age live with one or no parents. Harlem is characterized by deteriorated housing, low incomes, marginal businesses, inferior services and facilities, an influx of white persons in authority, a delinquency rate twice that of New York City as a whole, and a drug addiction rate approximately eight times that of New York City as a whole.
- Intervention Method(s): Grosser cites three broad mechanisms at work in the HARYOU project:

  (1) Harlem Youth Unlimited
  (2) Community Action Institute
  (3) Neighborhood Boards

  The Harlem Youth Unlimited (HYU) developed programs with an action emphasis and recruited youth leaders to reduce the number of alienated youth. It emphasized helping youth to learn proper social action techniques and to plan actions ahead rather than to yield to impulse. Youth were involved in projects geared to obtain toilet facilities and a larger recreation area. They conducted voter registration drives, demonstrations for street lights, pressured the city to correct housing conditions, raised scholarship funds to help youngsters through college, helped register older adults for medicare, and attempted to attract residents to weekly educational meetings in Harlem. The Community Action Institute (CAI) was based on the view that many residents need training to engage in the kind of social action required to bring about change. The Community Action Institute sought to train residents for effective community work. In its early stages the program offered three types of courses: heritage classes, community action classes, and group work classes. It also established neighborhood boards to answer the need for decentralizing the large Harlem community. Each board was to develop a genuine neighborhood in its designated area of responsibility and was charged with representing a cross-section of the population and making special provision for youth participation. Harlem was divided into five neighborhood board areas. The general plan for developing boards contained three phases:

(1) Surveying the community to canvas, identify, and contact leaders in organizations.

(2) Calling community meetings, holding discussions, and setting guidelines for board representation.

(3) Holding an election for board representatives.

As conceived, neighborhood boards were to monitor the quality of social services for the residents.

Coordination as Intervention

One large-scale intervention approach is to prevent delinquency by coordinating community services. Like the area approach, the coordination approach is based on the notion that to be effective, delinquency reduction programs must go beyond the individual's psychic deficiencies. A perennial and widely recognized difficulty is the tendency for established community services to take separate paths. The issue is how to coordinate and maximize the use of such community institutes as Health, Welfare, Law Enforcement, and School, without creating new agencies or services in the process. The following are examples of coordination projects.

Passaic (New Jersey) Children's Bureau (Kvaraceus, 1945)

This Bureau, established about 1937, consolidated the school system's and the police department's facilities for the study and treatment of problem children. Its staff consists of the director, who is responsible for the schools' guidance program, counselors, attendance officers, a social worker, a psychologist, a specialist in reading problems, and four police officers.

Through this combination of school and police services and through relations with social agencies, the Bureau was able to investigate "all cases involving misconduct or 'bothersome behavior,' whether they arise within or without the school's jurisdiction." All children about whom complaints are made to the police and all children apprehended by the police are referred to the Bureau, as well as children whom teachers, social workers, and others find to be in difficulty. For such children the Bureau arranged psychiatric, psychological, and other clinical studies and provided social treatment if needed.

New York City Youth Board (Witmer and Tufts, 1954)

The New York City Youth Board was established in 1947 as the city's means of participating in the statewide delinquency prevention program of the New York State Youth Commission. The Board's activities are numerous. Of special pertinence to the present discussion are its plans for (1) locating children and youth who have behavior and personality problems and referring them to appropriate sources of service; (2) expanding treatment services so as to meet the need of special youth.

The work of the Youth Board is confined to the eleven areas in the city found to have the highest rates of official and unofficial delinquency, areas inhabited by half the city's known delinquents. The potential clients of the Board and its associates are these delinquent children and all others with behavior difficulties not already being handled by family, school, church, or community agencies.

To locate these youngsters and secure needed services for them, referral units have been set up in the schools most needing service in all eleven areas. Nine of these units are operated by the Division of Child Welfare of the Board of Education; the other two are operated by the Youth Board itself. Each unit was staffed by a supervisor and several social caseworkers.

The idea behind placing the units in schools is that teachers best know which children are maladjusted. The staff of the units maintain close contacts with principals and teachers, especially those in elementary schools, and confer with them about children having difficulty in the classroom or at home. They also receive information from social agencies and private individuals.

Minneapolis South Central Youth Project (Konopka, 1959)

The geographical area for the South Central Youth Project was chosen on the basis of a survey made by a junior high school faculty committee. The survey showed that in the south central area in 1950-51, 490 youth were referred to school social workers, by far the highest number in the city. Ten percent of the 1,120 pupils in this area were placed on probation or committed to institutions during that school year.

The problems of the area were typical of slums: low income families, broken homes, chronic health problems, poor school attendance, high mobility, no stable community leadership, and a racially mixed population whose minorities were thwarted from moving into other areas of the city by low economic status and prejudice. Many community agencies were active in this area. The survey revealed that the families of many delinquent youngsters had received services from health and welfare agencies over many years.

The Project emphasized cooperation between existing agencies and the use of each agency's staff and skills. It also hoped to experiment with new techniques, if any could be found.

The Project was directed by a planning committee consisting of executives from a cross-section of public and private social agencies, the chief of the Crime Prevention Bureau, representatives from the public school system, and health services, several interested laymen active in civic organizations, and one state legislator. This committee met bi-monthly. It appointed a small steering committee, which met often for many hours to solve the interagency problems which arose and to evaluate the work being done.

The day-to-day work was done by staff members of agencies active in the area delegated to work with the Project. The agencies were: Big Brothers, Big Sisters, a church, three settlement houses, the Crime Prevention Bureau, the Family and Children's Service, the Department of Court Services, the Welfare Board, the city's Public Relief Agency, and the Visiting Nurse Service.

SECTION FOUR

RESULTS OF DELINQUENCY PROGRAMS

Action-Oriented Delinquency Projects

Small-Scale Interventions

The following is a review of the outcomes of the five small-scale intervention techniques: (1) Outreach, (2) Individual Services, (3) Group Services, (4) Work Experience, and (5) Behavior Modification. Five studies of each approach were selected for review. Twenty-five studies in all were used.

1. Outreach. Table 1 summarizes the results of studies of outreach programs.

Table 1

Results of Selected Outreach Projects

Program Setting	Program Aim	Outcome
Neighborhood Youth Assn., Los Angeles (1960)	To provide service to small groups of youth, refer them to other agencies when necessary, and endeavor to change their environment.	Not significant
Henry Street Settlement, New York (Tefferteller, 1959)	To aid youth in finding socially acceptable life styles and assist parents in playing more effective roles.	Significant
Roxbury, Mass. Community Program	To provide intensive agency service to youth and families by means of detached workers.	No evaluation reported
New Orleans Neighborhood Center, New Orleans, LA & Wells Memorial, Inc. Minneapolis, Minn.	To provide temporary specialized group work to poorly adjusted youth and find proper agency to continue services. To develop community interest in the neighborhood.	No evaluation reported
New York City Youth Board (Overton, 1952)	To provide services to families unwilling or unable to seek help themselves.	Significant (Subjective)

Of the three studies reporting results, two suggested a positive outcome and one reported no significant difference. The remaining two offered no judgment. Of the projects reporting change, the Los Angeles Neighborhood Youth Association project which used a control-experimental group design showed no difference, whereas the two projects using experimental intervention groups noted significant effects. Of the non-control group studies obtaining significant results, the Henry Street Settlement project by Tefferteller (1959) stated, ". . . of the 63 boys participating in one program, only 5 were involved in contacts with the police," whereas, the New York City Youth Board project (Overton, 1952) indicated simply that the "staff did note improvements."

2. Individual Services. Table 2 summarizes studies of program-based interventions.

Table 2

Results of Services to Individual Youth

Program Setting	Program Aim	Outcome
Neighborhood Youth Assn., L.A. (1960)	To aid youth with problems and refer them to other agencies when necessary.	No evaluation reported
Cincinnati Union Bethel Neighborhood Service, Inc. (McClary, 1964)	To assist youth with school, leisure time and employment, using clubs as a format.	Significant (Subjective)
Greater Kansas City Mental Health Foundation (1972)	To study four hundred predelinquent youth in the school system and offer services to youth and family.	No evaluation reported
Los Angeles Delinquency Control Project, L.A. (Pond, 1970)	An intensive community rehab program to determine whether parole in a community is more effective than institutionalization	No significant difference but interpreted as positive
Denver Boy's Club, Inc. (Amos, Manella, and Southwell 1965)	To provide youth with Big Brothers, educational opportunities, recreation, jobs.	Significant (Subjective)

Of the five studies, two reported significant results, one was insignificant, and the remaining two made no evaluation. McClary's (1964) judgment of the Cincinnati Project while positive, is couched in subjective terms and based on insufficient data. The following comments were made about this project: individual cases were referred to other agencies with "good overall results"; the project clubs were deemed as ". . . offering good experiences for youth. . . ."

The Denver Boys' project (1965) indicated that many youth on leaving praised the program. Its impact was assessed as follows: "Probably the best way to judge the success of this program is to count the number of years in operation and then the thousands of youngsters who have been given a big brother, counseled, placed on a job, or loaned money in the course of time."

Pond's study (1970) sought to compare a community alternative to institutionalizing youth. Youth chosen for the study received intensive individual counseling plus a range of supportive services such as family counseling, foster group home placement, recreational activities, a school tutorial program, and employment liaison service. Youth in the community-based program did as well as youth who were institutionalized before participating in the regular parole program; and in this sense, the results can be considered positive.

3. Group Services to Youth. Table 3 summarizes studies of group services to youth.

Table 3

Results of Selected Group Intervention Projects

Program Setting	Program Aim	Outcome
Metropolitan Youth Commission, St. Louis, Mo. (1963)	To aid parents in resolving youths' problems and provide casework to the disadvantaged families of boys in the program.	No evaluation reported
Special Service for Groups, Inc. L.A. (1962)	To provide social work service to youth and families.	No evaluation reported
Traverse Youth Center, Flint, Mich. (Peterson, 1964)	To involve community agencies in treating recidivist youth.	Significant (Subjective)
United Neighborhood Houses of New York, Inc., N.Y.	To help lower SES families overcome their environment to enable them to help their problem youth.	No evaluation reported
Judge Baker Guidance Center, Boston, Mass. (Kempler, Mutter, and Siskin, 1967)	To strengthen the family unit and aid youth in creating a wholesome milieu.	No evaluation reported

The lack of evaluations of group intervention is disappointing. Of the five projects reviewed, only one, the Traverse City Youth Project, contained an evaluation, and even that was essentially impressionistic.

The Traverse City Youth Project findings may be summarized as follows:

- Fewer youth were involved in generally less serious offenses.
- Police, parents, and school officials reported positive behavior changes.
- The boys themselves reported that they had ceased to shoplift and snatch purses and were earning their own money.
- Personal appearances improved.

- Habits and attitudes toward work were more positive.

- Attitudes in groups were modified.

4. Work Experience. Table 4 summarizes selected work experience programs.

Table 4

Results of Selected Work Experience Programs

Program Setting	Program Aim	Outcome
Job Upgrading Project, North Richmond, CA. (Amos, Manella & Southwell, 1965)	To provide a training guidance program and find employment for disadvantaged youth.	Significant
Youth Conservation Corps, Philadelphia, PA. (Amos, et al., 1965)	To reach problem youth in financial need.	Significant
Boy Builders of Bloomington, Inc., Bloomington, Ind. (Amos, et al., 1965)	To provide youth 16-18 an opportunity for work and study.	Positive direction
Job Placement and Work Therapy Program, Cincinnati (Amos, et al., 1965)	To rehabilitate problem youth through a work program.	Significant
Carson-Pirie Scott Double EE Program, Chicago, (Amos, et al., 1965)	To keep youth in school through a work-study program.	Positive direction

Each of the five action studies reviewed in the work experience cluster reported a significant impact on youth or claimed positive results. The results reported for the Cincinnati Program seemed the most concrete suggesting that a high percentage of project youth were placed on permanent jobs, and that for other youth, school counselors reported marked improvement in attandance and academic work. The North Richmond, California project reported that, ". . . by the end of a few years, one-third of the boys involved in the program were working either part or full-time." The Philadelphia Youth Conservation Corps program indicated that "62 percent of the boys showed improvement in school attendance and behavior and police contacts dropped significantly."

5. Social Learning (Behavior Modification). Table 5 summarizes the results of selected behavior modification projects.

Table 5

Results of Selected Behavior Modification Programs

Program Setting	Program Aim	Outcome
Oregon Research Institute (Patterson, Cobb, and Ray, 1972)	To train parents in the techniques of behavior management to enable them to control their youth.	Significant
Southwest Indian Youth Center, Tucson (Harris, et al., no date)	To modify the behavior of institutionalized delinquent Indian youth by home-based consequences.	Significant
Oregon Research Institute (Reid and Patterson, 1973)	To modify pre-delinquent youth behavior in the natural home setting.	Significant
Oregon Research Institute (Patterson, 1972)	To determine the stability for a twelve month period of a retraining program for parents of aggressive boys.	Significant
University of Kansas "Achievement Place" (Phillips, et al., 1972)	To devise and evaluate methods of reducing pre-delinquent and delinquent behavior in youth.	Significant

The above programs were uniformly significant in outcome. Studies conducted in three different settings with pre-delinquent and delinquent youth and their parents, by operational intervention methods, produced similar results.

The family retraining project reported by Patterson, Cobb, and Ray (1972) describes an intervention program for parents of aggressive boys. They predicted that significant changes would occur in the response patterns of youth identified as deviant with respect to behaviors selected as targets for change. The retraining procedures included the following:

(a) Deviant responses were behaviorally operationalized for each youth.

(b) Baseline response rates were calculated for target behaviors with each as a guideline for analyzing later change.

(c) Families participated in a ten to twelve week training program in which progress to a higher level was contingent on "correct" responses.

The investigators report that for nine of the thirteen participating families, a reduction in deviant behavior occurred that was "equal to or greater" than the overall 46 percent figure cited. They concluded that parents can influence the rates of problem behavior in their youth to the extent that the intervention training specifically relates to a particular behavior. The investigators noted that certain families find it hard to generalize or "transfer" intervention procedures to cope with problem responses other than those for which they were trained. They suggested family "overlearning" as a way to teach families to generalize what they have learned.

The Southwest Indian Youth Center (Harris, Finfrock, Giles, Hart, and Tsosie) used "home base" consequences to modify the school behavior of eight delinquent Indian youth ages fourteen to eighteen. Based on a program described by Giles and Harris (1972) in which delinquent Indian youth were placed in "family-style" halfway houses, two houseparents daily monitored four to seven youth. Youth attended school or a manpower job training program outside the home. A differential point system was used to reinforce "correct" responses. In short, points were earned for "correct" behavior, and subtracted for inappropriate behavior. Earned points permitted youth to purchase privileges, and ultimate release from the substitute family facility. Overall, the investigators reported that, "The daily percent of youth engaging in negative behavior decreased from 60 percent during the initial baseline observations to 11 percent. . . ."

In a related project, the Southwest Indian Youth Center, using a performance contingency system based on bonus points, reported increasing the "assignment completion" behavior of five delinquent youth in school from a baseline of 37 percent to a mean of 77 percent. Controls by comparison declined from a baseline of 65 percent to 62 percent for a comparable period of time.

The Reid and Patterson (1973) report on influencing pre-delinquent behavior in the natural home setting observes that parents can influence their children not to steal only when they first learn to recognize the behavior, and are motivated to intervene.

Patterson (1972) reports a follow-up of an intervention training program for parents of aggressive boys. In the year spanning the program and its follow-up, for twenty families "about three out of four showed major improvements."

The Achievement-Place Program, a family style behavior modification center for delinquents, reported changes in the responses of pre-delinquent boys using a token system of reinforcers. (Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen, and Wolf, 1972) The boys came to the evening meal more promptly, cleaned their rooms better, saved more money, and showed greater interest in news of the world.

Large-Scale Interventions

The view that delinquency is related to "predisposing conditions" in one's environment and in particular to institutions that impinge on the lives of youth stands in bold relief to the tedious case-by-case procedures of behavior modification programs. Those who advocate that we must change our institutions to eradicate delinquency strongly believe in the efficacy of their approach. In their view, not just a few but countless thousands of youth would benefit from such change. To what extent is delinquency prevention demonstrable in an area or community? What has been the impact of the Chicago Area Project, the Mobilization for Youth, the HARYOU-ACT, and other community intervention efforts?

Some observers are less than optimistic about the prospects for documenting the effectiveness of such large-scale social projects. Two decades ago, for example, Witmer and Tufts concluded that, ". . . any one program for reducing delinquency through the improvement of environmental conditions will probably have only limited success." (1954, p. 9) Witmer and Tufts offer three reasons for this assertion. (1954, p. 10)

> First, as matters now stand, the chief test of the effectiveness of a program of environmental improvement is what happens to delinquency rates. But this is a poor test for at least two reasons. On the one hand, delinquency rates are an undependable index of the amount of delinquent conduct in a community. They go up or down with changes in law and with changes in the administrative procedures of law enforcement agencies, with changes in community attitudes toward children's conduct, etc., as well as with changes in the actual amount of delinquent behavior. On the other hand, insofar as the rates are dependable, they register the joint effects of many factors in addition to those with which a particular delinquency prevention program is concerned. Control of these factors is difficult to achieve.
>
> Second, it is not to be expected that any preventive program will eliminate all delinquency. How large, however, must a reduction in delinquency rates be to testify to a program's success? In our present state of knowledge that is probably an unanswerable question. What is required for an answer is knowledge of how many children's delinquency is attributable, in significant part, to the adverse situation against which the program is directed.
>
> Third, the foregoing argument highlights another characteristic of environmental programs that makes evaluation difficult. Under these programs the changes that are sought lie not in children but in specified social conditions. Therefore, the first question to be answered in evaluation of accomplishments would be: Has the desired change in the situation been brought about? Only if that question can be answered affirmatively are we really justified in going on to ask: By how much has delinquency been reduced by this change?

Reliable estimates of the effectiveness of large-scale programs are hard to come by. Table 6, which contains assessments of selected large-scale delinquency programs, suggests why.

Table 6

Assessments of Selected Community Delinquency Projects

Project	Assessments
Chicago Area Project Kobrin (1959) Sorrentino (1959)	The Project demonstrated the feasibility of creating youth welfare organizations among residents of delinquency areas. The Area Project found that natural primary relationships with delinquents may be used to prevent delinquency, and they are best used in collaboration with agencies having formal responsibility for the welfare of the children and the protection of the community.
Mobilization for Youth Grosser (1969)	Participation of the grass roots target population was under the aegis of citywide, state, or national leadership. This provided an opportunity for local residents to learn leadership techniques by emulation and demonstration. In addition, the contacts, associations, and communications channels open by these direct action strategies remain resources which can be called on for other occasions and times.
Syracuse Crusade for Opportunity Grosser (1969)	Crusade succeeded in developing viable community-based organizations in the neighborhoods. Whereas the original Crusade effort focused on problems of unemployment, delinquency, and displacement, new issues posed by local leadership are educational and recreational.
United Planning Organization, Washington, D.C. Grosser (1969)	Services have been developed in the fields of employment, housing, education, health, recreation, and police-citizen relations. Committees, assisted by neighborhood workers, have developed a reasonable degree of know-how.

Table 6 (continued)

HARYOU-ACT Grosser (1969)	HARYOU has helped youth to learn to use social action techniques, to plan their actions rather than to yield to impulse. Activities included: voter registration drives, demonstrations for street lights, pressuring the city to correct housing conditions.

The above assessments are heavily qualitative in nature. They do not discuss reductions in official delinquency rates. Yet, advocates of institutional change assume that delinquency stems in part from institutional deficiencies which need correcting.

The outcome of community organization efforts is typically expressed in terms of program processes rather than in terms of reductions in delinquency rates. Kobrin (1959) for example, in his analysis of the Chicago Area Project draws attention to the process of creating "natural" citizen involvement at a local level to support delinquency prevention efforts.

Similarly, Grosser's discussion of projects such as Mobilization for Youth, the Syracuse Crusade for Opportunity, United Planning Organization, Houston Action for Youth, and HARYOU-ACT is replete with examples of citizen support for increased institutional responsiveness. Whereas delinquency provides a rationale and an initial rallying point for many large-scale projects, such projects come to encompass a range of community issues. The Syracuse Crusade proposal originally was aimed at delinquency and unemployment and then extended to education and recreation. Though it focused on a high delinquency area, the United Planning Organization project in Washington, D.C. also encompassed employment, housing, education, health, recreation, and police-citizen relations.

Much can be learned from the large-scale programs cited. It is entirely feasible that citizens could become advocates of the juveniles in their communities. The Chicago Area Project is a prototype of citizen advocacy. The citizen advocate is a reputable volunteer, who represents as if they were his own the interests of individuals unable to cope with institutions. It is well worth considering the aid such advocates could offer to young people in need. As guardians of the young, they could greatly reduce delinquency rates.

Research-Oriented Delinquency Projects

A handful of delinquency projects have been supported by foundations, philanthropic organizations, federal sources, and community groups. Such programs (a) are longer in term, (b) document their study procedures, calling on outside experts to judge their programs, and (c) make promising but scattered efforts to construct experimental and control group contingencies.

What intervention approaches have these special projects taken? How do the results compare with those obtained from action-oriented projects? Table 7 summarizes their approaches and results.

Table 7

Special Delinquency Intervention Projects

Project	Population Age Range	 Sex	 Ethnicity	Intervention	Outcome
Powers and Witmer (1951)	Median at start of treatment: 10.5	Male	Data insufficient	Sustained and directed friendship. Emphasis on health, tutoring, and camping. Used both professional and non-professional social workers. Matched C and E groups of 325 each.	No significant difference in C and E groups in social adjustments or number of court/police contacts. Mild success where (Ss) parents special support needs diagnosed correctly, home situation not severe, problems not extensive, and tangible needs most prevalent.
Bowman (1959)	9th - 10th grade	Male (75%) Female (25%)	Data insufficient	Foster home placement; "aggressive" casework; recreation; two special classes for slow learners in public schools with flexible, practical curriculum. Used control group (20 Ss) over two-year period.	Foster home placement, aggressive casework, recreation. Basic academic skills, personal adjustment, and drop-out rate all showed no significant difference between Controls and Experimentals. Reduction of school absence significantly higher for Experimental group. Delinquency rate tripled in Control Group; decreased by one-third in Experimental group. Experimental group had greater success in job experience. Results attributed to revised school program.

Table 7 (continued

Project	Population Age Range	 Sex	 Ethnicity	Intervention	Outcome
Brown and Dodson (1959)	15-17	Male	White	Community Boys' Club with small group activities--athletics, crafts, drama, Scouts, and summer camp program. Conducted over eight-year period. Results compared with two other areas of city matched on SES factors.	Delinquency rate in Club area decreased 51%, while matched areas increased 175% and 33% each. Overall city rate increased 61%. Results partly attributed to effect of Boys' Club. Other factors such as community leadership, churches, family units, racial factors, economic stability, and social disorganization may have had a strong influence.
Miller (1959)	12-18	Male (90%)	White (77%) Black (23%)	193 Ss groups were divided into four units. Intensive service was provided by MSW to each unit over three-year period. Nature of social work activities not specified. No control group before, during, and after measure of delinquency rate.	Rate of delinquency change for four units 25% decline, while rest of state on increase. Positive behavior change in relations with police; some change in relations with white people; no change re school, church, and drinking patterns.

Table 7 (continued)

Project	Population Age Range	 Sex	 Ethnicity	Intervention	Outcome
Roth (1961)	13-16	Male	Data insufficient	Two group meetings per week with each high-risk group, led by trained social worker. Focus on Ss themselves, athletic and activity oriented. No control group. Population size not specified.	No hard data. General impressions: Ss showed wide variation in behavior patterns and need for external controls. Progress in behavior change was uneven and intermittent and did not result in basic attitude changes. External, environmental factors were of "tremendous importance" in Ss behavior.
Meyer, Borgatta, and Jones (1965)	10th, 11th, and 12th graders	Female	White (26%) Black (57%) Puerto Rican (17%)	Individual and group counseling by professional social workers in established community agency. Generalized treatment approach with wide variation in number of agency contacts per Ss. Matched Control (192 Ss) and Experimental (189 Ss) groups.	School-related behaviors, out-of-school behaviors, and personality tests showed no significant difference between C and E groups. Experimental groups had slight reduction in truancy and dropout rate; slightly fewer health problems and unwed pregnancies. Lack of results attributed to difficulty of changing deviant careers.

Table 7 (continued)

Project	Population Age Range	 Sex	 Ethnicity	Intervention	Outcome
Ahlstrom and Havighurst (1971)	13-19	Male	Black (60%) White (40%)	1-Modified academic program; small classes focused on language skills and work orientation. 2-Work experience phased from initial group work with token pay to full-time employment with private employer. Program conducted over six years, using Control and Experimental groups totaling 400 Ss.	75% Ss did not profit from work-study program. One-sixth finished high school with 93% in bottom half of class. Serious social maladjustment, arrests, delinquent behavior, and institutionalization rate all high and significantly higher in blacks. Results attributed to poor father work models, poor identity achievement, poor neighborhood influence, pervasive sense of helplessness, and lack of employment opportunities, especially for black.
Hackler (1966)	13-15	Male	Approx. Black (65%) White (35%)	Work program--Experimental and Control group design, four experimental variations and one Control.	No significant differences between Experimental and Control youth.

Table 7 (continued)

Project	Population			Intervention	Outcome
	Age Range	Sex	Ethnicity		
Berleman, Seaberg, and Steinburn (1972)	12-14	Male	Black (82%) White (10%) Other (8%)	Aggressive social work with Ss and families with goal of modifying acting-out behavior. Primarily crisis-oriented. Conducted over six months, using matched Control and Experimental groups of 52 Ss each.	Assessment eighteen months following program using school discipline records and police contacts as indices revealed: (1) Experimental group unaffected as compared with Controls, (2) results attributed to negative effects of labeling high-risk Ss; ineffectiveness of social work; and lack of system-focused approach.

Of the special community intervention projects conducted over nearly twenty-five years, fully 75 percent, or nearly three of every four studies, reported non-significant outcomes. Moreover, of the studies cited that used some form of experimental-control group procedure, none reported significant intervention differences between experimental and control youth (Powers and Witmer, 1951; Meyer, Borgatta, and Jones, 1965; Ahlstrom and Havighurst, 1971; Hackler, 1966; and Berleman, Seaberg, and Steinburn, 1972).

Special projects focused on the following: the individual, the group, institutions, and work.

The Individual

The Powers and Witmer study (1951) showed no significant differences between experimental and control youth, either social adjustment or number of court and police contacts. Vigorous post hoc analyses of the data (McCord, McCord, and Zola, 1959) reported small success in decreasing the seriousness of offenses, but not the rate. Youth who began program participation earlier than age ten and had frequent contact with a counselor had the lowest subsequent offense rates. This re-analysis should be considered speculative only. Overall, McCord, McCord, and Zola (1959) concluded that, "a comparison of treatment and control groups failed to indicate that the treatment in general had been beneficial." (p. 93)

The study by Miller (1959) included 193 youth, ages twelve to eighteen, predominantly white males, divided into four service units. Intensive service was provided each unit over a three-year period. No control group was used. Youth were compared on a before-after basis. A 25 percent decline in delinquency was noted in the intervention groups compared to an increase in delinquency in the surrounding "untreated" area.

The Meyer, Borgatta, and Jones experiment (1965) used tenth through twelfth-grade females, one-fourth white, one-half black, and the remainder Puerto Rican. While group counseling was carried out, counseling and supportive services to individuals were the main methods used. Assessments of in-school behaviors, out-of-school behaviors, and personality test performance revealed no statistically significant differences between experimental and control groups. Whereas experimental groups had a slight reduction in truancy and drop-out rate, slightly fewer health problems and unwed pregnancies, the overall findings were interpreted as not significant. Thus, of the three studies cited, only one reported significance. (Miller, 1959) However, no reference or control group was used in the Miller study. In contrast, the studies that reported no significant differences used control group procedures.

Group Focus

The Brown and Dodson study (1959) used a Boys' Club setting and made available small group activities, including athletics, crafts, drama, Scouts, and a summer camp program. This project was conducted over an eight-year period. Results were compared with other areas in the city in which the project was conducted, with matching attempted on socio-economic factors. In the club area, delinquency decreased approximately 50 percent, while in non-club areas delinquency rates increased substantially.

A group intervention effort reported by Roth (1961) focused on "high risk" males, ages thirteen to sixteen, who participated in group meetings twice a week. The groups focused on the youth and emphasized activity. No control group was used, nor population size specified. The results of the effort were stated in general terms, and no firm measurements were taken. Overall, Roth reports that youth showed wide variation in behavior patterns and a need for external controls. Progress in behavior change was deemed uneven and intermittent and did not appear to change basic attitudes.

The Seattle-Atlantic Street Center study (Berleman, Seaberg, and Steinburn, 1972) made an intensive effort to modify the behavior of youth and their families. Conducted over a period of years and using matched control and experimental groups of approximately fifty youth each, the study reported no significant differences between experimental and control groups.

Institutions

Bowman (1959) reports on the Quincy experiment, a project aimed at a cross-section of all youth in a site described by Bowman as "a small mid-western city." Its object was to prevent maladjustment and develop the special talents of youth. While not solely concerned with delinquency, the project dealt with youth of lower economic status from difficult home situations, frustrated by school, who had left school and met with obstacles to success in the world of work. The Quincy Project sought to determine whether the school experience "could be made profitable rather than a defeating experience" for youth. Its aim was not to work directly with youth, but rather with adults in the community responsible for youth, and to upgrade the community's resources for its youth. Bowman describes the special classes in school set up for youth unable to perform at their grade level. The school program was characterized as follows: Youth spent most of the day with one sympathetic teacher who knew them well. Learning experiences were varied, ranging from films, field trips, and work experience, to special projects. Flexibility was stressed. The special experience sought to find areas youth could succeed in and to minimize failure. Bowman reports that pupils in the classes "showed greater interest in the school" as measured by attendance records. Specifically, absences for control youth increased from an average of twenty-two days in grade eight to twenty-nine and one-half days in grade nine. During the same period, the absence rate in experimental classes decreased from an average of twelve days in grade eight to eleven days in grade nine. That the experimental group found school more beneficial was supported orally and in writing by the pupils. Moreover, a survey of delinquency statistics indicated a shift in rates for the control group during the two-year period. The delinquency rate in the control group had more than tripled. Bowman states this result is not surprising "since these years, sixteen to eighteen, are crucial in the establishment of criminal patterns." During the same period, the delinquency rates of the intervention group decreased more than 33 percent, and there were fewer serious offenses reported than in the control group. Bowman stresses that the data are far from complete but concludes "the trend is clear." (p. 61)

Work

The two studies focusing on work experience used control groups of males with 60 percent in each group consisting of black youth, ages thirteen to nineteen. Hackler (1966), using four experimental variations, found no significant differences between experimental and control youth. Ahlstrom and Havighurst (1971) report possibly more definitive test of the work hypothesis. The study used a modified academic program in school with small classes and a work arrangement between the school and private employers. The program was conducted over six years, and included four hundred youth in control and experimental groups. Ahlstrom and Havighurst reported that the large majority of youth did not profit from work-study program. Ninety-three percent finished in the bottom half of their class; only one in six fully completed a high school education. Serious social maladjustments, arrests, delinquent behavior, and institutional rates were all reportedly high, and significantly higher for blacks. The shakey results from this effort are attributed to poor father work models, poor identity achievement, poor neighborhood influence, pervasive sense of helplessness, and obstacles to employment opportunities for youth, expecially for blacks.

Methodological Perspectives

As Table 8 suggests, the distribution of results for action-oriented projects differs notably from the results emanating from the special research projects. The following observations seem warranted:

1. Differenting Impact. Action-oriented projects report a high level of significance, while special intervention projects containing research report marginal impact. Of the seventeen action-based projects, fifteen characterize their findings as significant. On the other hand, research-oriented tests of delinquency intervention efforts suggest chance differences in nearly two studies out of three.

2. Evaluations. Nearly one in three action-type programs reported "no evaluation" available. Group interventions in particular

Table 8

Results of Action- and Research-Oriented Delinquency Projects

Type of Project	N	Significant	Non-Significant	No Evaluation
Action-oriented	25	60%	8%	32%
Research-oriented	9	33%	67%	...

seemed lacking in evaluations. Of the five group studies cited, only one reported results. The remainder made few assessments. Of the five approaches reviewed, behavior modification efforts most consistently linked theory, program action, and results.

3. Comparison Groups. Studies using control groups are in short supply. However, when control group procedures are followed, the probability of demonstrating significant results declines sharply. Based on the special projects cited, the probability of obtaining success is .33, with .67 chance of non-significance. In contrast, the action-oriented projects claimed .88 chance of success.

Current research in delinquency prevention lacks methodological consistency. Despite claims to the contrary, the evidence suggests a dearth of reliable knowledge on the subject. Review of nearly one hundred empirical studies in delinquency by Bailey (1966) and by Logan (1972) suggests not only that the efficacy of program interventions are inconclusive but that their results are questionable. Bailey indicates, "There has been no apparent progress in the actual demonstration of the validity of various types of correctional treatment." (p. 157) Bailey's research assessment of correctional and preventive efforts compares with earlier analyses of Dalton (1952), Kirby (1954), and Witmer and Tufts (1954). The Witmer and Tufts assessment concluded that for the most part delinquency programs have not been effective. Evidence from the recently completed Seattle Atlantic Street Center delinquency prevention experiment confirms this judgment. Berleman, Seaberg, and Steinburn (1972) express their criticisms of the Seattle experiment:

> . . . did the experimental boys who were exposed to the Center's social services significantly reduce the level of their acting-out behavior below that of their control counterparts who received none of the Center's services? The answer is no . . . the accrued evidence strongly suggests that the service was no more effective than an absence of service in moderating youthful acting-out behavior. (p. 325)

Similarly, Logan's recently concluded evaluation research in delinquency, "We find that as far as the survey and review has been able to determine, there is not yet one single study of correctional or preventive effectiveness that will satisfy the most minimal standard of scientific design." (p. 380) Whereas nearly half the empirical studies on the outcome of delinquency prevention and/or correctional efforts claim some measure of success, a number of important considerations detract from the meaningfulness of these claims. Table 9 summarizes Logan's (1972) findings.

Table 9

Methodological Adequacy of Results in
Crime and Delinquency Programs
(Based on Logan, 1972)

Methodological Criterion	Percentage Meeting Criterion
1. That the program or techniques was adequately defined	12%
2. That it was capable of being repeated	11%
3. That it possessed a Control Group	42%
4. That the assignment to Control was random	23%
5. That the Intervention Group received help	31%
6. That the definitions of success were measurable	59%
7. That there was follow-up in the community	30%

Consider, for example, the following points Logan cites as limiting the usefulness of current research in delinquency.

a. Only one in ten of the studies surveyed adequately defined or described the program or technique used. The significance of this gap is immediately evident. The studies that claim success, or partial success or failure, are limited in their impact on new programs if the procedures cannot be repeated and routinized by other programs. The faulty program definitions and loose descriptions of intervention methods suggest that a standard is needed for current programs to be most effective.

b. Only 40 percent of the studies surveyed used a control group. Most important, however, only five of the one hundred studies could show that only the treatment group received the treatment in question. This deficiency demonstrates the need for a field standard which would reduce confounding effects.

c. Approximately 40 percent of the studies reviewed failed to provide a measurable and/or working definition of program success, despite the fact that many of these studies claimed some measure of success.

SECTION FIVE

NEW CONCEPTS FOR DELINQUENCY PREVENTION: DIVERSION, ABSORPTION, NORMALIZATION

Responses to the problem of delinquency have been cyclical and self-defeating. Since the creation of the first official juvenile court in Illinois in 1899, the nation has been witnessing the failure of what was originally hailed as "one of the greatest advances in child welfare that has ever occurred." (Platt, 1969) Somehow the special mechanisms developed for handling juveniles have fallen short. Observers familiar with the juvenile justice system are painfully aware of its shortcomings. Furthermore, throughout the century, delinquency programs have not varied in their approaches. Referring to the Chicago Area project of the 1930's, Spergel (1973) asserts that "current community-oriented approaches seem remarkably similar to [it]." (p. 24) By and large, the prevailing approach has been to assume that the youth himself is deficient. The characteristic remedy has been to do something to or for the youth. Delinquent behavior has been commonly viewed as a symptom of an underlying disorder in the juvenile. The remedy has been to straighten him out by talking with him about his problems. Though widely held, the effectiveness of the view has been pretty much discredited.

Few current delinquency prevention programs seem to be aware of past efforts or past failures. The field is a treadmill of ideas, recycled and repackaged under new labels, and many programs seem indifferent to collecting the information needed to validate their efforts.

Ideas hailed as innovations far outdistance their empirical support. Once a program is begun, the tendency is to hunt data that will support it. Whether a program is demonstrably working seems of minor concern.

Community-Based Reform

A genuine reform movement, however, seems underway. Roul Tunley, in his work, Kids, Crime, and Chaos (1962), discusses natural and semi-formal ways of dealing with potential delinquents. Examples are "citizen delinquency squads" and half-way houses. He makes the point that in other countries a youth is judged delinquent only when he commits a crime for which an adult would be found guilty. Anthony Platt in The Child Savers (1969) traces contemporary programs of delinquency control to the reforms of "child savers" in the early 1900's who he asserts helped create the clumsy judicial and correctional machinery we have inherited. In 1969 Donald Bouma in Kids and Cops discusses the role ambiguity of the police officer and the contradictory mandates of the public. The work offers ways to achieve citizen-police rapport and stresses the need to develop better attitudes toward law enforcement, particularly in adolescents. Lisa Richette in The Throwaway Children (1969) gives a case by case account of legal experiences in juvenile court situations, from which two points emerge: (1) the United States is at least a quarter of a century behind in its planning for juveniles, and (2) without volunteer citizen efforts the prospect for improvement is dim.

Howard James in Children in Trouble: A National Scandal (1970) points out that the present system for helping youth in trouble is a failure. James asserts that millions of tax dollars are being squandered on detention and punishment when prevention is the cheapest route. In 1971 the American Friends Service Committee sponsored the provocative volume, Struggle for Justice. Their report concurs with Platt that creating juvenile laws made crimes of behavior that had hitherto been handled informally. Austin Porterfield in The Now Generation (1971) calls upon society to enlist the talent and energies of youth in community, state, and national endeavors. Porterfield suggests that youth could be a major asset in developing tri-generational councils. Edwin Schur in Labeling Deviant Behavior (1971) lays out the many ways that deviants can be created by being defined so by society. In 1972 Edwin Lemert analyzed the pros and cons of various proposals to divert youth from the court. Gemignani (1972), sponsored by the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, outlined a nationwide youth service network that would handle delinquents through community youth development programs. In 1973 Edwin Schur in Radical Nonintervention: Rethinking the Delinquency Problem, favored leaving youth alone whenever possible and narrowing the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. The California Youth Authority in a paper entitled, Delinquency: Causes and Remedies (Knight, 1972) discussed the working assumptions of the California Youth Authority staff. According to the report, the common denominator in prevention and treatment was "an overwhelming staff focus on solving the delinquency problem in the community, on normalizing rather than abnormalizing the lives of marginal youth." The report indicated that nearly two-thirds of the counselors and almost ninety percent of the staff in the California Youth Authority support a strong effort to refer delinquent youth to their communities and not the courts. Considering the source, we may interpret this report as a strong endorsement of community-based reform.

The new direction seems most aptly summarized by Gemignani's review (1972) of the strategies for combatting delinquency. He discussed the following four approaches: (1) programs based on behavior modification; (2) programs based on improving services to delinquents under detention; (3) programs based on developing services and delivery systems to pre-delinquents and delinquents; and (4) programs based on community reform. Gemignani rejects approaches (1), (2), and (3). He reasons that behavior modification is somewhat limited in that it is highly individualized and expensive. He does not, however, preclude its use with youth already alienated from society. Approaches based on the psychic insufficiency of youth, however, receive his sharpest censure. They oversimplify a complex problem and ignore the social forces that create delinquency.. Gemignani (1971) with a group of national experts forged a National Strategy based on the premise that juvenile reforms must begin with the reform of our institutions.

In 1953 B. F. Skinner documented the power of the government, the church, the schools, and psychotherapy to control behavior through rewards and punishments. Skinner contended that government, for example, works principally through *the power to punish in its emphasis on what is wrong*. He cites its power to dispossess a man, fine him, tax him punitively, or put him in jail. It threatens him with injury, hard labor, or death, exposes him to public ridicule and harasses him with red tape. Skinner points to the discrepancy between legal and scientific concepts of human response systems. The law is administered through complex, abstract verbal processes and assumes that punishing wrongdoers will deter would-be offenders. As a scientist, Skinner has observed that rarely do people witness the connection between the punishment and the crime. Skinner notes that psychotherapy is ordinarily reserved for behavior which is deemed inconvenient, disturbing, or dangerous. It is an instrument of institutional control. Psychotherapy, he says, requires time; therefore, the first task of a therapist is to make certain that the patient remains in contact and will return for further treatment. As treatment continues the therapist's power increases, becoming an important source of reinforcement. If he is successful the patient will continue to turn to him for help.

Skinner asserts that institutions embrace an ideal of behavior against which they oppose a less than ideal human behavior. The church, for example, has visions of "salvation," government seeks "justice, freedom or security," and psychotherapy pursues "mental health." All in all, many institutions exert less than a positive effect on people. With respect to education, Skinner makes the following observations. Education attempts to establish behavior patterns which will be of advantage in the future. As more and more individuals become educated, the reinforcements of education are weakened, in that fewer advantages are contingent on education. Accordingly, educational institutions have turned to alternative methods of control. Teachers use their personal powers to make themselves or the teaching interesting. They become entertainers. Textbooks are supplied with pictures and diagrams like those found in popular magazines or the press. Lectures are supplemented with demonstrations and visual aids. Whatever the range of techniques used, however, no matter how progressive the school, most knowledge acquired in education is verbal. Yet situations of knowledge application may call for a mixture of verbal and non-verbal skills. Schools, in their traditional emphasis on verbal knowledge, do not meet this need.

In a less theoretical fashion, Polk (1973) outlines several reasons why youth do poorly in school. Common thinking in the community and the school is that the fault lies with the youth. One can come from a "bad" family, one can lack motivation or intelligence or be reluctant to learn. Polk asserts that such school practices as grading and tracking are major barriers to success and tend to stigmatize many of our youth. He asserts that schools must assure that some are excluded from professional and technical college courses. He believes grading and tracking (1) convey to the downgraded youth that he is not worthy, and is apt to become less worthy, and (2) signify to everyone at home and at school that he is an incompetent. He may react by confirming his ambitions.

One clear direction in prevention theory is the view that individuals are controlled by forces outside themselves. Economic systems, educational systems, legal, and governmental organizations impinge on all families. It is no longer enough to "correct" individuals. We must change the policies and practices of institutions. Only then can we counteract these negative influences on our citizens.

Diversion, Absorption, Normalization

Tactics designed to loosen the institutional straightjacket of youth are only beginning to emerge. A review of the literature suggests three concepts to be increasingly important--diversion, absorption, and normalization. (Klein, 1973)

Diversion

Diversion is any process used by the police, prosecution, courts, and corrections to divert offenders from the formal system to a lower level in the system. Many diversion programs underway refer offenders to agencies in their community. Prominent among such programs are the Youth Service Centers, Youth Service Bureaus, or Youth Service Systems. Klein suggests that keeping an offender out of the courts can be and is practiced by the police and court personnel. They play a central role in diversion programs. Diversion can take place with or without their help. In the former case, a police officer or court worker refers a youth to someone else for preventive, rehabilitative or reintegrative purposes. In the latter, police simply issue a warning to the youth at the station and release him. Also, court workers may divert by taking no action on a referral other than to send a form letter to the youth and his family urging them to act on the matter and see to it that the offense is not repeated.

Absorption

Absorption stands for the process by which such institutions as the family, the school, and the church or such agencies as clinics, courts, and big brothers take on offenders or suspects rather than reporting them or their acts to the police. Carter (1968) is credited with first coining the concept of community absorption, defining it as

> the attempt of parents, schools, neighborhoods, indeed the communities, to address the problem of delinquent and deviant youth by minimizing referral to official state or county agencies designated to handle such youth, or if there has been a referral to one of these agencies, the attempt to remove the offender from the official process by offering a solution, a technique, or a method of dealing with the offender outside the usual agency channel.

Carter suggests that law enforcement agencies and probation courts often encourage such an approach in that except for flagrant law violations, it can be used as a natural method for handling youthful offenders. Carter cautions, however, that in recent years this approach has suffered a decline. How to restore it could well become a major objective of future reform. Community absorption solutions could include the school's handling of a youth's misbehavior without reference to legal sanctions. Another form is to transfer delinquent youth from official agencies of the community, and psychiatrists and counselors, into private hands. Examples may be found in schools' private arrangements for counseling or tutoring families. The absorption process, according to Carter, relies heavily on use of the natural community. The use of personal resources to influence official actions is often viewed as a perversion of justice. Despite the oft made allegation of the "influence of affluence," Carter suggests that the absorption process could be an effective way to deal with deviants. To some observers the method may appear undemocratic because poorer families generally are unable to realize the advantages of such an approach. Carter, however, suggests that community absorption should be extended to and strengthened among poorer families. Overall, the effectiveness of absorption may outweigh criticism that undue influence is being used.

Normalization

Normalization is treating behavior classified as deviant as if it were not, thereby eliminating the need for legal sanctions or criminal processing. A wide range of status offenses and omnibus types of behaviors under which youth now find themselves tagged as delinquent are likely candidates for normalization. Klein states "fist fights among boys, petting among minors, tearing down goal posts after football victory are behaviors ordinarily normalized by officials who recognize such behavior as par for the course in adolescents." The following statement captures the spirit of normalization: "Given the relatively minor, episodic, and perhaps situationally induced character of much delinquency, many who have engaged in minor forms of delinquency once or twice may grow out of this pattern of behavior as they move toward adulthood." (p. 3) For these, Klein adopts a "Moynihan" like posture and suggests that a policy of doing nothing often may be more helpful than active intervention, particularly if the long range goal is to reduce the probability that delinquent acts will be repeated. The new direction is to develop alternatives to rather than substitutes for the existing system of processing juveniles. The following alternatives move away from formal action toward informal action:

(1) Diversion with referral
(2) Diversion without referral to community agencies
(3) Community absorption
(4) Normalization

Diversion with referral to an appropriate community agency is a nationwide phenomenon of recent origin. It represents a first step in increasing diversion levels systematically. Lerman (1971), for example, cites data which suggests that at least 25 percent of the cases reaching juvenile courts involve so-called status offenses, that is, behaviors deemed not criminal or punishable when committed by adults. Furthermore, Lerman reports that 40 to 50 percent of the detention cases awaiting dispositional hearings do not involve criminal acts, and moreover, that 25 to 30 percent of the commitments to the juvenile correctional institutions do not involve criminal acts.

SECTION SIX

YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice via the Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency in its 1967 report recommended that "there should be expanded use of community agencies for dealing with delinquents non-judicially and close to where they live." (p. 19) The apparent thinking of the Task Force was to create alternatives to adjudication for greater numbers of youth. It recommended that "an essential objective in a community's delinquency control and prevention plan should . . . be an agency that might be called a youth services bureau. . . ." Ideally, such a youth service bureau would serve delinquent and non-delinquent youth. The idea behind the Task Force recommendation was that while many cases would originate with schools, parents, and youth themselves, the majority of referrals to a youth service bureau would come from law enforcement (police) and juvenile court staff.

The Commission anticipated that police and court referrals would have special status in that "youth services bureaus would be required to accept them all." (p. 20) Also, if after proper study certain youth seem unlikely to benefit from its services, the youth service bureau should routinely convey notice of the disposition of the situation back to the referral source. Diversion is increasingly being suggested as an alternative to the juvenile justice system. Gemignani (1972) estimates that by 1977 there will be nearly "1.5 million juvenile delinquency cases handled by the courts, unless more effective strategies are adopted." He advocates community-based programs to meet the needs of potential delinquents.

In its advocacy of youth service bureaus, the President's Commission was recognizing that the juvenile justice system is not the most effective deterrent to delinquency. Especially harmful is its practice of arraigning youth for status offenses. Typical status offenses are incorrigibility, truancy, running away, and even stubbornness. Moreover, juveniles are processed for minor offenses that pose little threat to the community.

Diversion programming and coordination of youth service bureaus with police, courts, and traditional social agencies is a relatively recent development. Because it is so new, its results are as yet uncertain. The lack of systematic evaluation has been conspicuous, in justice operations from law enforcement through corrections. (Carter, 1972). Carter suggests that without proper planning and evaluation ". . . it appears certain that diversion practices will produce more confusion and chaos than clarity and consistency." (p. 36) Moreover, at a "state-of-the-art" conference on delinquency prevention, sponsored by Portland State University in 1973, the following analysis emerged:

> . . . too little evidence exists concerning the impact of current efforts at diversion programming on the incidence of delinquent behavior. While much money and effort is going into the establishment of such programs (i.e., youth service bureaus), little available evidence would suggest that they are doing any better in terms of rehabilitation than more conventional practices. Clearly, then, to prevent a waste of resources, both human and fiscal, rigorous evaluation of such programming is necessary to establish their effectiveness. (White and Pink, 1973, p. 112)

Klein (1973), in a recent analysis of diversion, observes that ambiguity regarding the proper youth service bureau model seems to exist. He cites a report by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency which identifies five different models which various youth service bureaus had adopted. This would suggest that bureaus have different notions of their functions. A number of hazards of youth service bureaus have been identified by observers. Klein lists these as follows:

1. Youth service bureaus are often charged to coordinate resources where there are none.
2. Undue pressure might be placed on diverted youth and families to accept unwanted treatment.
3. An increase in diversion to youth service bureaus might inadvertently decrease or reduce the unofficial normalization that goes on in a community. Klein calls this an "overreach" of treatment. He cites a federal report which states that, "For much of what is labeled as deviance, the problem is not how to treat it but how to absorb or tolerate it."
4. In certain types of youth service bureaus, police referrals to the bureau are not built into its program or structure. In Klein's opinion, such a situation defeats the very purpose of a diversion program.
5. A two-year progress report cited by Klein on California service bureaus conducted by the California Youth Authority makes little mention of impact, and concentrates primarily on information gathering and what it hopes to accomplish in the future. The report cites the low number of police referrals as a major problem in the first year of the California program.

6. The report by Seymour (1971) summarizing a national conference of scholars and practitioners on youth service bureaus suggests that the development of youth service bureaus has been haphazard, inadequately coordinated, and unresponsive to critical issues.

In concluding his discussion of diversion, Klein (1973) states that ". . . solid data on the process and outcome of bureau operations are not yet available." (p. 48)

In 1971 the California Youth Authority, with funding from the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, undertook to locate and describe youth service bureaus in whatever form "and by whatever name others identified them." (p. 11) A summary of the study follows.

1. The study began in September, 1971 with a national census. Officials and agencies in fifty states and six territories were contacted. Questionnaires were mailed to more than 250 possible youth service bureaus. Approximately 220 responses were received from the questionnaires, and 198 of the questionnaires were sufficiently complete for analysis. Of the 198 analyzed, approximately 170 appeared to be related to the youth services bureau concept. From the basic group of 170, approximately one-third were selected for more intensive study via site visits.
2. The typical program provided intensive services for approximately 350 cases per year, serving slightly more males than females (60 percent to 40 percent). Approximately one youth on the average per day was served by the average youth service

bureau. The average age of youth was 15.5 years. The primary referral sources were the schools, law officers, and the juveniles themselves. Approximately one-fourth of the programs were open Monday through Friday for a forty-hour week. The remaining three-fourths exceeded forty hours, ranging up to seventy-two hours over a seven-day week.

3. Most youth service bureaus focused on developing alternate services to those in the community, rather than making access to on-going services more easy. The national study concluded that youth were more often directly served by these bureaus than referred to other agencies.
4. The report suggests that the success of youth service bureau programs in diverting youth from the system has often been owing to the number of referrals from law enforcement and "other official sources": "The number of self-referrals and referrals from parents, friends, and in general referrals from non-official sources has been higher than anticipated, and this phenomenon needs study and analysis." (Youth Services Bureaus: A National Study, 1973:37)
5. The national study reports that regarding evaluation and research, the typical program "submits periodic reports to its funding source and is monitored by their representative." It estimated that "less than 30 percent of the programs listed had a significant complete agency-funded evaluation component." Of the remaining 70 percent, about half had no evaluation component at all, and the remainder are described as "[having] potential but . . . not developed."

Following the above survey was a report from the University of Colorado Research Group (1973) which conducted a national survey of twenty-five youth service systems. The following are highlights of the findings from the Colorado analysis.

The major activity of youth service projects surveyed was in direct services, and the impact of projects studied on institutions was extremely limited. The report asserts that the direct service programming emphasis by youth service systems is cause for concern. They raise the spectre that youth service systems could become the "dumping grounds for unwanted youth" of traditional institutions. (National Youth Service Systems Survey, 1973) Their direct service efforts may actually retard long-range progress in youth development. By emphasizing direct service programming, albeit innovative and necessary, the youth service bureau is assuming responsibility for what the traditional institution should in effect be doing and prolongs the time whereby traditional institutions can change to meet responsibilities for youth services development. The Boulder report on youth services systems recommends technical assistance action in the form of (a) a better orientation to systems development by youth services projects, along with a planning and management by objective scheme, and (b) resources to provide ongoing youth service projects with models and/or "cookbook" examples which can then be adapted for local use.

The prevailing technique for evaluating youth service bureaus is at the descriptive survey level. Duxbury's (1972) evaluation of youth service bureaus in California is an excellent example of initial efforts at descriptive-analytical assessments of youth service bureaus.

Duxbury's preliminary evaluation report (1972) used three criterion areas:

A. Diversion

B. Coordination

C. Delinquency Reduction

Criterion A - Diversion. Duxbury's report identified key points at which juveniles can be diverted from the system. She found, however, that even though law enforcement resources were using youth service bureaus, the anticipated or hoped for number of referrals were not attained, at least early in the program. Starting from the key point of probation intake, the California report concludes that diversion has been more noticeable in the "youth service bureau communities than in the neighboring areas." (Duxbury, 1972:119)

Criterion B - Coordination. Little hard data are presented for this complicated area. The Duxbury report suggests, however, that a definitive study of program coordination was limited by the short time span for planning for each bureau. The study also suffered from a lack of involvement of key juvenile justice agency administrators during the study's planning phases.

Criterion C - Delinquency Reduction. Preliminary results for California youth service bureaus suggest that reductions in juvenile arrests occurred in most youth service bureau target areas.

Whereas the California Youth Authority evaluation is a statewide comparative study of bureaus, examples of community-oriented studies of youth service bureaus are provided by Reynolds, Vincent, and Blyth (1973) and the Carter and Gilbert (1973) report of the Orange County, California Alternate Routes Project.

The Study of Youth Service Bureaus in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area conducted by Reynolds, Vincent, and Blyth (1973) reported a relatively high degree of satisfaction with the youth service bureau service. Based on a small follow-up sample of youth service bureau clients regarding satisfaction with services and willingness to return to the youth service bureau, the study obtained the following results: approximately 65 percent reported they were satisfied or very satisfied with the youth service bureaus. In contrast, 50 percent of the same group said they were satisfied or very satisfied with school counseling. Overall, the satisfaction percentages recorded by youth service bureau clients compared favorably with counseling received by the same clients elsewhere; that is, approximately a 50 to 60 percent satisfaction rate with counseling received in community agencies other than youth service bureaus.

Highlights of findings from the Alternate Routes project were:

1. Counseling Arrangements. Youth and parents expressed a decided preference for seeing project counselors alone. Slight preference was given by youth to joining youth groups, and by parents to joining group sessions with other parents.
2. Program Satisfaction. In a follow-up survey, approximately 85 percent of the parent-youth pairs expressed the opinion that the project was of "some value" or had "a lot of value." On the average, only one in ten respondents (10 percent) checked that the program was "of no value at all." Of the more than 85 percent of the respondent pairs that rendered a judgment on program satisfaction, approximately 37 percent or one in three checked the program as having "a lot of

value" and slightly more than half (50 percent) thought the "program was of some value."

3. Time and Cost Analysis. The Alternate Routes project concluded that processing youth through the diversion program was considerably less expensive than was the case for the juvenile justice system. The cost analysis section by Gilbert reported the following: (Carter and Gilbert, 1973)

   a. The average time "from arrest to professional counseling was reduced from 48 to 21 days--or a total of 27 days reduction due to alternate route intervention."

   b. "The cost involved for processing through the juvenile justice system was reduced from an average of $688 per arrest to $234."

   Thus, the study suggests that "a net savings to the juvenile justice system of $454 per arrest is being demonstrated by the Alternate Routes program." (p. 10)

The Alternate Routes finding corresponds to that reported by Parker (1971) in his study of cost factors in the juvenile justice system in Denver, Colorado. The estimated cost for processing for juveniles for arrest, detention, and intake in Parker's study was approximately $592 per youth. This process did not include probation, corrections, and after care.

Whereas the descriptive-analytical approach to evaluating youth service bureau operations suggests potentially useful data for program administrators, it leaves a gap in testing intervention alternatives. Recent developments suggest an emerging awareness of the need for experimental type comparisons. The 601 diversion project reported by

Baron and Feeney (1972) is a quasi-experimental design to test whether juveniles charged with a pre-delinquent offense can be handled more effectively through "short-term family crisis therapy" at the time of referral than through the normal procedures used by the juvenile court. One important finding of the Sacramento Project was that during a seven-month follow-up the percent going to court in the control group registered 34 percent compared to only 14 percent in the project group. In addition, the percent going into probation supervision (formal or informal) reported by Baron and Feeney and their research group was 53 percent approximately of the control group in contrast to 16 percent of the project group.

An encouraging example of a "quasi-experimental" effort is Elliott's (1973) work on evaluating diversion in several major cities. Elliott sought to assess the impact of diversion on youth who have been diverted out of the juvenile justice system. The study interviewed a sample of one hundred youth in each of the study sites. Half the sample consisted of youth referred to a youth service systems resource, matched with a sample of fifty youth placed on probation early in the evaluation period. Project youth were interviewed at two points in the evaluation process using a design approximating a pre-test and post-test experimental and control group comparison. The difference in scores between groups was used as a test of program impact. For example, regarding whether youth deemed themselves as "better or worse since contact with the program," nearly 82 percent of youth served by youth service systems responded with "better" in contrast to only 56% of the non-youth service systems youth. A fairly high percentage of non-youth service systems youth responded with "don't know."

Additional evidence which supports the usefulness of youth service bureaus comes from Jones and Bailey (1973) who state, "In the opinion of nearly all East Tremont leaders, NYDP [Neighborhood Youth Diversion Program] was an asset to the community. . . ." (p. 162) The recidivism rate of 20 percent for program youth was considered as low and indicative of genuine program impact since the project did not purport to select the "easier" cases for participation.

SECTION SEVEN

PREVENTION MODELS

Santayana remarked that "those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." Thus far we have clung to and protected the status quo in delinquency programming. Few programs seek out change. By virtue of repetition, intervention practices tend to be accepted as doctrine and passed off as fact, which they are not. Empey and Lubeck, in a concluding note to the Silverlake Delinquency Project state, "The long-range view that now enables legislators and the public to expend large funds on the protracted study of problems in the natural and physical sciences will have to apply in the social realm if better understanding is to be acquired." (1971, p. 334) Consensus seems to be building that breakthroughs in delinquency programs must be based on facts derived from an analysis of well-defined intervention situations. Theory, action, and research should be linked in such studies. Programs should (a) be derived from a convincing rationale which takes into account past efforts (theory); (b) in the intervention phase (action), reflect what the theory intends it to, and not be based on the capricious interpretations or misinterpretations of a staff poorly versed or uncommitted to the theory; (c) in the analysis phase (research), utilize measures considered fair to the model being field-tested.

Ohmart (1970) summarizes the results of a conference on miniature strategies for extending delinquency programming horizons. The models selected for discussion fall into three groups: (a) organizing for a prevention-oriented constituency; (b) strengthening natural systems for prevention; and (c) developing a community resources system. Each is discussed in turn.

Model A - Organizing for a Prevention-Oriented Constituency

A presidential commission report entitled The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, which appeared in 1967, was intended to arouse citizens to the need for change. Judging by its absence from the bookshelves at corner drugstores, the book failed to make it with the American public and continues to accumulate dust. Its view of what lies behind crime and delinquency may not square with the opinion of the man on the street. The public may have difficulty absorbing the report's diagnosis that crime may result from a lack of opportunity and inequitable system of justice. Furthermore, the report challenged the widely held view that the mollycoddling of our youth has weakened their moral fiber and bred rampant crime. A time honored solution has been to crack down on juvenile hoods, thugs and punks, and build more prisons and penitentiaries.

Genuine progress in delinquency prevention cannot occur without community support outside the juvenile justice system. Whatever the merits of a prevention program, if community power groups, legislators, established agencies and police do not want it, it will fail. Spergel (1973) observed that links particularly with schools, police and job placement resources are necessary and suggests that "to ignore these subsystems or to attack them frontally may be a grievous error." (p. 29) Ohlin (1970) asserts that all communities have some system for generating and controlling delinquency. To make the system work better, Ohlin contends that planning and developing must precede new programs.

Based on the belief that delinquency planning must enhance opportunities for youth, Ohlin's model contains the following elements.

1. Substantive Planning Groups. Opinions vary regarding the size, composition and function of a planning group. Ohlin suggests the following arrangement: First, planning groups should be working groups rather than symbolic, silent contributors. Preference is given to officials of institutions and agencies who deal with delinquency. The planning unit would include one or more legislators, one representative each from the school system, business, labor, and social service agencies, plus one representative each from such social control organizations as the police, courts, and corrections. A planning unit of ten to fifteen members is envisioned including suggestions from former offenders plus technical and conceptual support from representatives of the academic and research community.
2. Planning Continuity. To avert discontinuity among group members, Ohlin suggests that the group should meet on a regular basis. The budget should provide for buying released time from the member's organization or institution. Ohlin cautions that the member's "knowledge and expertise with respect to the structure, operating norms, potentialities, and budgetary and other constraints which characterize these agencies," is being sought and not the prestige deriving from his attachment to some organization.

3. Community Constituency. Any planning effort to have impact and be carried out must be endorsed and supported by the public. An information specialist skilled in community relations can be of inestimable value to a planning group.

Model B - Strengthening Natural Systems for Prevention

Model B, or the Natural Systems Approach, emphasizes improving school and family links. Empey indicates that delinquent behavior results from a failure to link the child to the family and the school. Strengthening family-school ties would reduce alienation and help reduce the peer group identification which so often sustains delinquent behavior. The program depends on early identification in primary grades and in using teacher aids, and other older students as tutors and models of occupational achievement. Bower's model seeks to develop children's ability to cope with environmental situations thereby reducing the risk of delinquency. To achieve this, Bower proposes sensitizing schools to children's developmental needs and most important providing feedback to reduce stress factors in each child's environment. His methods would include screening for special needs, special speech, language and play programs, parent groups and conferences and the teachers' use of the data. A model feedback arrangement between school and family is a cardinal consideration in Bower's proposal. Grant and Rubin focus on revamping the school's program to make it functional and attractive to youth. Grant, for example, discusses a new careers approach in the junior high school which would enable youth to work in the community while attending school. Rubin proposes a quasi-legal exposure for youth through social science courses at a junior high school to increase their respect for law. He also suggests joint planning between schools, juvenile justice agencies, and local government. The program would be located in lower-class, high delinquency, Black, Chicano and white areas. Curriculum models and materials would be adapted to varying contexts. Teachers, administrators, youth and justice related professionals, local boards of education and government officials would sponsor, administer and evaluate the project.

Model C - Developing a Community Resources System

The aim here is to develop alternatives to the juvenile justice system. John Martin's model underscores the need for non-legal services outside the justice system in the form of youth service bureaus that accept referrals from police, court, schools, community agencies, parents, and individual youth. This model seems fairly well established and follows a 1967 recommendation of the President's Delinquency Task Force. The Marguerite Warren model proposes a system that relates behavior by age level and type of problem to steps that may be required such as out-of-home placement, educational facilities for families, treatment facilities for families, special activity groups, or crisis services. The program covers grades one through six. The Warren proposal calls attention to the community resources that must be developed, particularly out-of-home placement resources. The Montrose Wolfe model advocates the use of behavior modification techniques whereby youth ages twelve to sixteen temporarily live outside the home and receive special instruction from "teaching parents" aimed at eliminating their undesirable anti-social behaviors. The model uses a token system in which points can be redeemed for privileges.

SECTION EIGHT

PROPOSED POLICY DIRECTIONS

A nationwide reappraisal of the juvenile correction system is now underway. There seems to be a readiness to consider new directions, policies and procedures that are responsive to youth. In 1971 the work entitled, Struggle for Justice, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, posed an incisive challenge to existing correctional designs. The work is especially critical of the individualized treatment model which characterizes much correctional practice. In 1973 a multi-volume report on crime prevention and corrections was published under the auspices of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 recognized the failures of the juvenile justice system and set out to develop comprehensive linkages among federal, state and local jurisdictions. This Act places considerable responsibility on state agencies to provide a variety of "advanced" community-based techniques in combatting delinquency. The extent to which the new delinquency bill will be instrumental in providing ". . . the direction, coordination, resources and leadership required to meet the crisis of delinquency" remains to be seen. Whereas legislation provides a most important vehicle for change, it cannot guarantee or ensure competence and commitment from those charged with program implementation, nor has genuine accountability yet been a hallmark of federal, state and local delinquency efforts. Accordingly, the following policy directions assume a pool of individuals--federal, state, and local--who are committed, competent and accountable. Without these ingredients, model legislation and promising program ideas are doomed to founder. Given these constraints, policy directions are proposed in seven areas.

Area One - LEGAL. There is considerable support for the view that status offenses should be removed from the juvenile court statutes whenever feasible. Status types of offenses should be treated as non-criminal in order to reduce the present overdose of professional intervention which tends to create a negative attitude in youth toward the entire legal process.

Area Two - DIVERSION. Steps should be taken to divert many juveniles from the legal system. This is based on the assumption that a productive self-concept among youth is best developed not within but outside of the legal system. It would seem a worthwhile policy to divert youth who have educational, social and family stresses to community-based agencies who may be more identified and capable of addressing such problems than is the juvenile justice system.

Area Three - DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION. Placing youthful offenders in institutions does not seem to be successful. Evidence increasingly attests to the fact that a range of community alternatives might be a more productive route and indeed at far less cost to the community.

Area Four - RESTRUCTURING THE JUVENILE COURT. The essential purpose of juvenile courts should be to administer juvenile justice. There is considerable question regarding the assumption behind much court philosophy that a juvenile court judge can be a substitute father and that a detention program can replace a family.

Area Five - SCHOOL/WORLD-OF-WORK CONNECTIONS. There should be an attempt to connect all types of education to the world-of-work. Ideally, all youth should experience some type of on-the-job education. Along this line, child labor laws should be modified to permit youth to participate more fully in the work force. Rosenheim (1973) cautions that labor market trends do not provide sufficient work opportunities to make modification of child labor laws a realistic solution. Though laudable in intent, the present federal policy of creating paid summer jobs for youth restricts participation to those who live in disadvantaged households and excludes large numbers from benefiting from work experience opportunities.

Area Six - EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIVENESS. School systems at present are thought to have unproductive effects on many youth, particularly through the use of tracking procedures in which educational systems emphasize producing college students at the expense of those not viewed as college material. Often students who find themselves in non-academic tracks are less valued by school personnel and society and respond to the resultant stigma by one form or another of behavior labeled as delinquent. Schools would do well to move in a direction that genuinely supports a culturally pluralistic framework.

Area Seven - KNOWLEDGE BUILDING. It has been observed that few successful business enterprises could operate with so little information regarding impact as do nearly all of our delinquency prevention and control programs. Seemingly, solutions to delinquency problems appear on the horizon on a daily basis. Each is hailed by one or more supporters as "promising," though few if any strategies ever receive sufficient empirical assessment. Some recent writing draws attention to the possibilities of transcendental meditation, karate, and mini-bikes as tools of therapeutic value with juveniles. Other observers suggest that "maturational reform" remains the most promising approach for controlling delinquency. Still others are eager to uncover additional causes of delinquency. For example, the learning disability concept has been offered as an explanatory variable for delinquency. It is proposed that learning disabled youngsters and juvenile delinquents have similar characteristics. Both are hypothesized to possess a low self-concept and low frustration tolerance, and the common link between delinquents and youth with learning disabilities is a history of poor performance in reading, writing and verbal communication.

What is fact and what is fiction? No one really seems to know. Hopefully, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 will make a difference in the evaluation of delinquency programs and provide the field with much needed research leadership relative to upgrading standards for the conduct and utilization of research. A recent report by Dixon and Wright (1975) suggests that research in delinquency prevention has progressed during the past years. The Dixon and Wright survey cites nearly fifty studies which made some use of the control and/or comparison group. They conclude, however, "There is no answer or set of answers to delinquency prevention," and recommend that a trial and error approach is the only feasible way to arrive at useful alternatives. In short, it is clear that a scientific approach has yet to influence the complex area encompassed by delinquency prevention programs. Too often, actions that are undertaken on behalf of juveniles are implemented in partial ignorance of their effectiveness.

One argument for adequate program experimentation is that when in doubt it may not always be prudent to "do something" on behalf of juveniles. A wiser course might be to assess proposed actions on a pilot basis under conditions that will permit measurements of intervention and criterion variables. This seems to be a more responsible approach in testing out "new" ideas and stands in direct opposition to launching unknown programs wholesale without being aware in advance of the anticipated effects. Moreover, knowledge based even on ideal and adequate research procedures often generates resistance at the point of application. Dixon and Wright (1975) observe that few studies contain information considered vital to policymakers and hence utilization becomes remote. Virtually overlooked in the reporting of delinquency projects are items such as cost, public response to program, and comparisons of effect with institutional programs. Effective utilization of research products in delinquency prevention requires the informed collaboration of administrators, practitioners and researchers. Only then can the nation's youth and the public interest be served.

APPENDIX A

TOWARD A FAMILY-ORIENTED NATURAL SYSTEMS PREVENTION MODEL

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TOWARD A FAMILY-ORIENTED NATURAL SYSTEMS PREVENTION MODEL*

Removing Anti-Family Barriers

The nationwide bias toward blaming the individual delinquent for his behavior has produced a widespread therapy and/or punishment response to delinquency and as Mogulof (1967) suggests, the boundaries between them "are sometimes indistinguishable." In theory, policy-makers are saying that the individual has chosen his weapon, so to speak, and is punished to prevent his going that route again. Or he is offered treatment so he will no longer need to act irrationally. This response represents the acme of our nation's ethic of individual responsibility. Its failure to reform, however, is well documented. Statistical evidence shows that doing a hitch in a correctional institution is perhaps as good a predictor that a youth will again appear in court as one can find. Furthermore, the helping professions, that is, counselors, psychologists and psychiatrists, rely on verbal approaches most of which have proven marginally effective with delinquents. Evidence is mounting that delinquency stems as much from the expectations and ambiguities of societal structures as from problems in the individual. Many believe that the status quo in the juvenile justice system may be "so deep and intractable that significant changes must come from outside." (Mills, 1973) Any prevention design must reflect the multicausal nature of the problem. Any national strategy tied to a single direction will not suffice. Single strategies are at best partial.

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*The collaborative assistance of Mr. Harvey Grady, Supervisor, Bureau of Preventive Services, Arizona Department of Corrections, in formulating this model is recognized with gratitude.

Accordingly, this section prepared for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare--Social Rehabilitation Service--suggests an orientation and a line of action for those concerned with making contemporary social science more useful to program development. We offer no blueprints on how the following should be carried out through federal sponsorship, but we believe that the actions we propose are clearly within the capability of a typical community.

Our model hypothesizes that as neighborhoods develop confidence in dealing with their environment they will become better able to control the behavior of their youth. Neighborhoods are primarily composed of families, and in the final analysis preventing delinquency seems simply to be a negative way of expressing the positive side of the coin--namely, family and youth development. In all the models reviewed, even when the family is granted a secondary role, the primary emphasis is clearly elsewhere. Yet, for every youth labeled delinquent there is a family member. At the core of our proposal is the tenet that the interests of youth are best served by developing a constituency of family-oriented citizen support. James (1970) in his emotionally charged volume Children in Trouble: A National Scandal, lists forty-one practical things a citizen can do to help youth. Among these are such items as:

a. Start discussion groups in your community on ways to help youth.

b. Become a discussion leader. Invite groups of young people into your home or meet with them elsewhere to talk about things concerning them.

c. Write and encourage your friends to write to government officials and demand changes whenever needed.

d. Become a community resources coordinator. Gather information on various agencies and institutions in your area and either duplicate and distribute the information or accept telephone calls from parents or youth in need of help.

Naturally, many professionals could be highly skeptical of proposals that seek to develop family power or citizen advocacy. However, their batting average has been dismal. Their own programs are dripping with rhetoric but ineffection. The gauntlet it seems can only be dropped quietly, diplomatically, and tellingly by forces outside the justice system. Far too many youth become unjustly labeled by contact with this system. In the process their families too are labeled. The Senate group conducting hearings on "American Families: Trends and Pressures" (Congressional Record, September 26, 1973) received testimony from many sources on the needs of families and youth in America. Senator Mondale summed up this testimony in his opening statement, "Our hearings are based upon a very simple belief: Nothing is more important to a child than a healthy family."

Senator Mondale cited the following statistic: "Juvenile delinquency is becoming so widespread that according to predictions one out of every nine youngsters will have been to juvenile court by the time he reaches eighteen." Appearing before the Mondale committee on

September 28, 1973, no less an authority than Margaret Mead stated, "Out of this debacle must come something new, some new recognition of how we can strengthen and support our families, rebuild our communities. . . ." Mead urged that we start "now to develop a national policy on the family . . . knowing that as the family goes, so goes the nation." Community after community proclaims delinquency prevention as a top priority yet most have trouble generating family support programs. Too few government or citizen organizations have been committed to such programs. We are. Our approach centers on the family, emphasizing the creation of more effective absorption patterns. Our strategy is to reduce provocation to delinquency within the family and to strengthen social control. Gold (1971) states that the family group "obviously is one with great potential for social control and much of the past effort in involving families in order to control delinquency is to strengthen the influence of the parents over their children." Gold suggests that the effectiveness of family involvement efforts has not yet been evaluated decisively. He is referring, of course, to the classic view that youth and their families are patients in need of treatment, rather than sources of power for community and neighborhood action.

The present view is based on the need to recognize the family as a natural system of power in the community and the need to explore the families' potential for improving community approaches to delinquency. A number of meanings emerge from the concept of natural systems. Collins (1973) envisions a network of relationships in which individuals seeking a service can find it without necessarily resorting to professionals.

She states that "there is every reason to believe that there are a number of natural systems of service in any single neighborhood, however neighborhood is defined." (p. 47)

Surprisingly, little attention is paid to the family in delinquency prevention. The report of the Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency and Crime of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, devotes a mere page to the important area of treatment for the family. The importance of focusing on family groups should not be underestimated. Limited studies have shown that intervention results are poorest when focus is on the individual youth, and they improve as the total family unit is involved.

Family Education Programs

Currently, throughout the nation, family education is being advocated as a way to strengthen the family. The programs are called "growth cluster" or "enrichment" programs. The programs call for three, four, five, or more families to meet together regularly ". . . for the development of family potential." (Anderson, 1974) The family centered approach strengthens families in three ways:

1. The family education group goes beyond the traditional or typical family-life education program by attempting to involve the whole family together as a unit. Former family programs have been heavily criticized for their emphasis on teaching the individual rather than the family as a unit.
2. The family education group is a supportive network or tribe, as it were, which permits families to strengthen themselves as a unit. The theory is that in a society that fragments a

family and isolates it from extended kin and other families in the community, the education group can give families a sense of community and belonging.

3. The family education group can focus on ways to develop the hidden potential or resources of families. Every family has them, but they need to be called into use. Hence, the group emphasizes growth and development rather than their children's problems.

Figure 1 illustrates six types of families, with certain types calling for immediate attention. The families in clusters C, D, and E might be strengthened as follows:

First--Begin with families from Group C, that is, with normal families. That will establish the norm and indicate that everyone can participate. Normal families may also be a natural source of family leadership.

Second--Introduce families from Group D. Group D blends naturally with Group C since the problems in Group D are in their early stages.

Third--Carefully introduce E families, that is, families with ingrained problems, into the group.

Figure 2 contains a hypothetical analysis of how family programs might be carried out.

Figure 3 illustrates three ways strengthened families can reduce delinquency. The first way, for example, is to improve communication within the family to reduce alienation. This would prove helpful to families with youth from fourteen to seventeen who have been runaways,

Figure 1

FAMILY TYPES

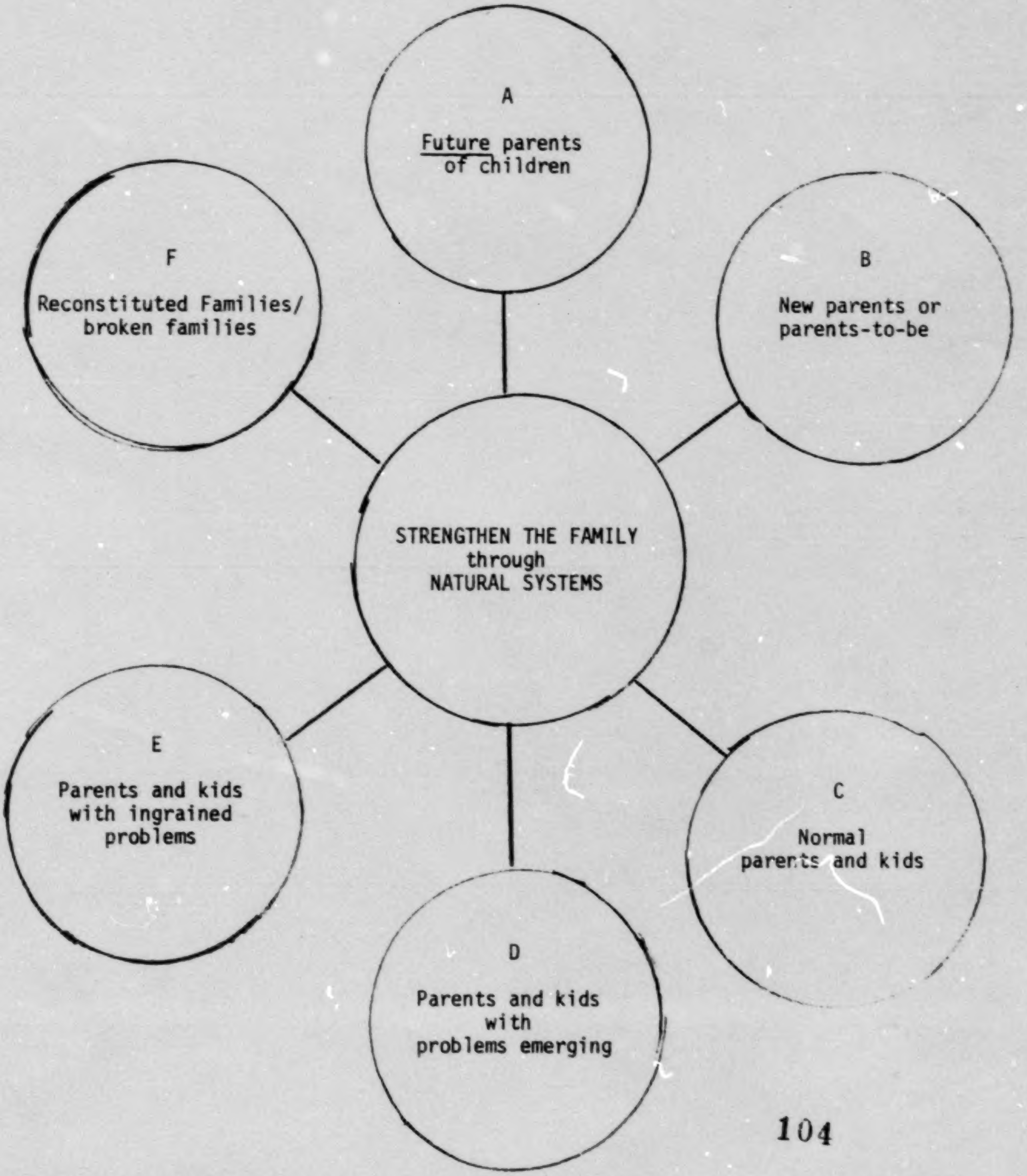

A
Future parents of children
B
New parents or parents-to-be
F
Reconstituted Families/ broken families
STRENGTHEN THE FAMILY through NATURAL SYSTEMS
E
Parents and kids with ingrained problems
C
Normal parents and kids
D
Parents and kids with problems emerging

Figure 2

FAMILY DEVELOPMENT

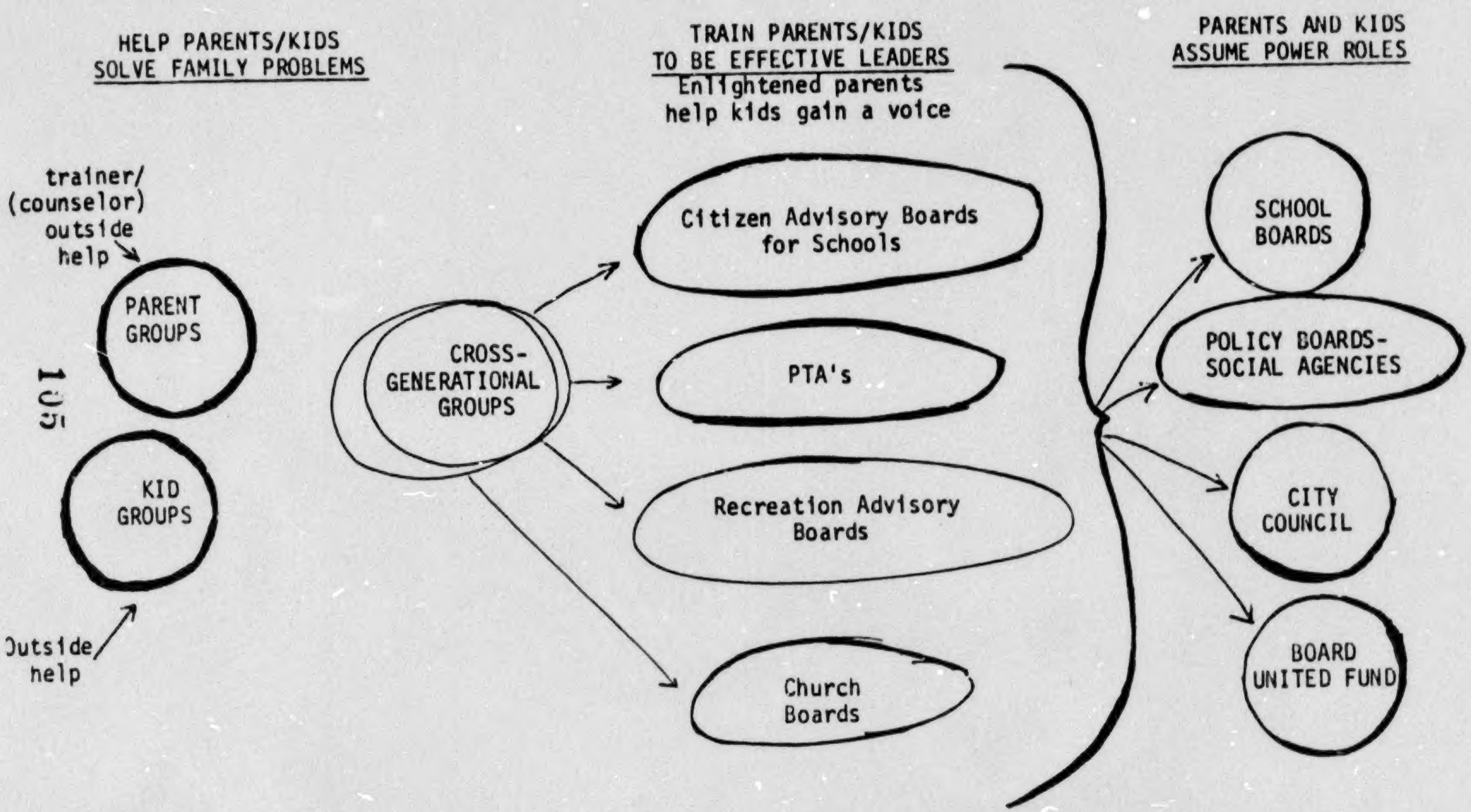
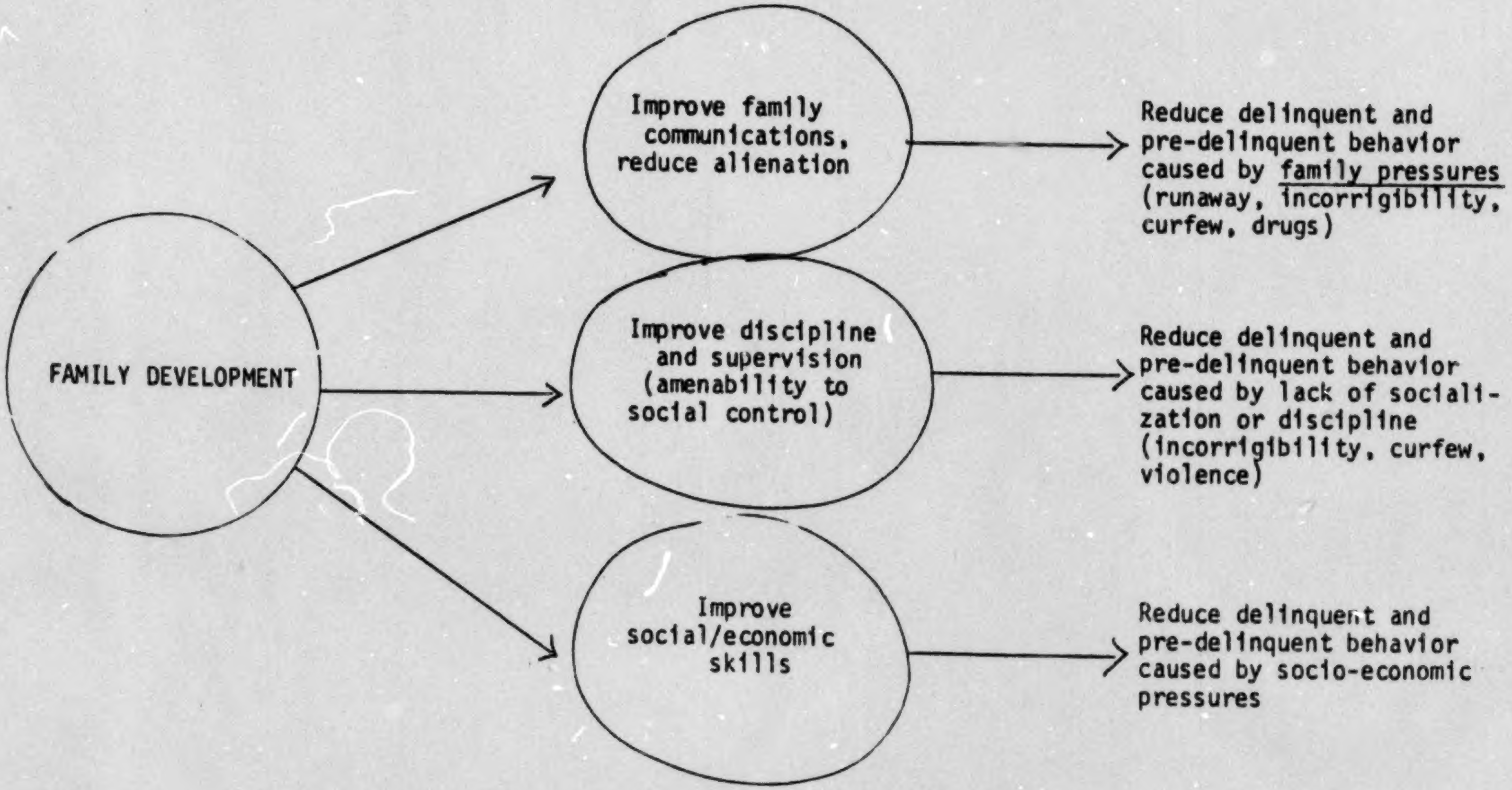

HELP PARENTS/KIDS SOLVE FAMILY PROBLEMS
trainer/ (counselor) outside help
PARENT GROUPS
KID GROUPS
Outside help
CROSS-GENERATIONAL GROUPS
TRAIN PARENTS/KIDS TO BE EFFECTIVE LEADERS
Enlightened parents help kids gain a voice
Citizen Advisory Boards for Schools
PTA's
Recreation Advisory Boards
Church Boards
PARENTS AND KIDS ASSUME POWER ROLES
SCHOOL BOARDS
POLICY BOARDS-SOCIAL AGENCIES
CITY COUNCIL
BOARD UNITED FUND

Figure 3

EFFECTS OF STRENGTHENED FAMILIES


FAMILY DEVELOPMENT
Improve family communications, reduce alienation
Improve discipline and supervision (amenability to social control)
Improve social/economic skills
Reduce delinquent and pre-delinquent behavior caused by family pressures (runaway, incorrigibility, curfew, drugs)
Reduce delinquent and pre-delinquent behavior caused by lack of socialization or discipline (incorrigibility, curfew, violence)
Reduce delinquent and pre-delinquent behavior caused by socio-economic pressures

violated curfew or engaged in drug or alcohol abuse. For the eight to thirteen year old, improved communication could reduce petty theft, vandalism, and malicious mischief offenses.

The possibilities of extending family power beyond the home and neighborhood into the wider community are great. Compared with the school and the church, the family has flexible power as citizens, taxpayers, and voters. Churches seem unable to reach enough people and schools seem to have difficulty introducing change into the community. However, if released from problems and encouraged and supported to advocate in the community, the family could be a positive force for change.

Family Development: A Procedural Outline

Family groups enable people to expose, explore, and understand the problems which attend living with other people. They teach the importance of airing such problems within the family to prevent antisocial behavior. Such a group, given an early assist in formulating its mission, would (1) encourage discussion and resolution of family problems and (2) develop skills in human relations through the process of group education.

The first task is to help the population of a neighborhood identify what it wishes to achieve. The second is to help families and interested agencies and organizations develop a program to meet its aims. The third is to carry out the program.

Phase A, thus, would include an analysis of a city, suburb, or rural area to determine: (1) the wants and needs of the population regarding family education; (2) guidelines for the most effective form that educational group services can take; (3) guidelines for the methods to be used. The program will seek to involve the families, cooperating agencies and organizations throughout its duration.

In Phase B, a family education program would be designed, based on the information gathered. The design would include plans for recruiting indigenous persons to participate in developing a program and carrying it out. This phase would also provide a structure for involving agencies, churches, schools, and other organizations.

In Phase C, the program would be carried out.

The three phases would proceed as follows.

Assessing Wants and Needs--Phase A

1. Assist the target population to identify wanted and needed family life education group services.
2. Identify areas of local agency, church, school, and organization participation in planning implementing these services.
3. Identify available and desirable local program facilities.
4. Identify the best client recruiting methods.
5. Identify volunteer participants in the program.

Developing the Program Design--Phase B

1. Present program guidelines to the active participants for their recommendations and revision. These guidelines will include a proposed group program with the following aims:
    a. improved social skills
    b. improved family relatedness and mutual understanding
    c. improved verbal and non-verbal communication skills
    d. improved interpersonal problem-solving ability

   e. increased self-confidence
   f. greater social and community awareness, responsibility and involvement
   g. improved career and educational motivation
   h. increased capacity for cooperating in a group

2. Propose times, dates, and locations of program events.
3. Propose structure for training indigenous group leaders.
4. Propose format for target population, organization, agency, client, and staff participation.
5. Propose staffing structure.
6. Propose program coordination and organization structure.
7. Propose program evaluation procedures.
8. Propose program budget.

Implementing the Program--Phase C

1. Achieve the program's objectives.
2. Develop a model for a family life education program through evaluating the pilot project, with suggestions for applying the model to other socio-economic neighborhoods.

The following steps for applying the model are envisioned:

Phase A

1. A model population of up to 5,000 will be selected.
2. A portion (perhaps 10 to 20 percent) will be interviewed:
   a. in informal group interviews in homes, schools, clubs and churches,
   b. in individual and family interviews using a questionnaire.
3. Interviews will be designed to:

   a. Elicit as much information as possible regarding the interviewees' feelings, thoughts and concerns about youth problems: what parents should do, what the community service system should do, what families should do, and what the interviewees would be interested and willing to do.

   b. Elicit as much information as possible regarding the educational services the interviewees want for themselves and under what conditions they would participate in such a service program.

   c. Elicit a commitment to participate in all three phases of this project.

4. Other parts of the population will be contacted by:

   a. Distributing a brief questionnaire to the entire target population, if volunteers are available. The questionnaire would briefly describe the project, request answers to the questions, and invite the interviewee to call for more information or attend an informal gathering to discuss the project or arrange for an individual or family interview.

   b. Mailings, if feasible and desirable.

   c. Other approaches as they may manifest themselves during the assessment process.

Phase B

1. Offering human relations educational groups led by indigenous trained leaders to the target population is the core of the pilot program. Human relations education is a process offered to those seeking to live more meaningful, satisfying and

peaceful lives. It focuses on improving the experience of the present moment and tends to relate to families rather than to members on a one-to-one basis. It attempts to involve people in learning experiences geared to their needs and wants.

Human relations education groups do not attempt to resolve deep intrapsychic conflicts. They simply seek to provide the socialization, learning, awareness, motivation and social action experiences through which people improve their lives.

Ample evidence indicates that good human relations educators are often peer group leaders. They are people who live in the same neighborhoods, come from the same socioeconomic background, and are subject to the same environmental conditions and problems as the people with whom they work. They possess average intelligence or better, much empathy, and a deep interest in people. With training, the services they can render are invaluable.

2. The pilot program would involve those agencies, organizations, personnel, and members of the population able and contented in participating.
3. It would prepare and communicate proposed program guidelines (based on assessment data) to active participants.
4. It would prepare and communicate to active participants the materials which develop.
5. It would coordinate and organize meetings to complete the proposal.

6. It would select potential personnel for training as family life education group leaders.

APPENDIX B

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